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INCLUDING

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by Paul Streeten

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by Raymond Nottage, J. R. N. Marshall

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Editor's Notes

THE great majority of the people in the developing countries of the world live in rural communities and depend upon agriculture for their subsistence and their well being. No one can seriously doubt that a revolution in agricultural methods and production is required if the governments concerned are to succeed in their common, avowed objective of raising the standard of living of their citizens and of achieving the rapid development of a viable and progressive state. If modern agriculture is the key to development, then the obvious concomitant is optimum land usage.

Arthur T. Mosher, of the Agricultural Development Council, in *Getting Agriculture Moving* (a book we commend strongly) and writing on the theme of 'Towards more efficient farms' says "The first need is the clear demarcation of farm boundaries and the registration of land titles. Raising the productivity of agriculture involves making investments in the land itself. One cannot expect farm operators to make such investments unless they are sure of their right to keep the land or to be repaid for the effort and expenses that they put into improving it" and he continues, later, "Society has an interest in seeing both that the land is used efficiently and that its fertility is conserved and improved for future generations. Society therefore 'sets the rules of the game' within which each farmer operates the land of his farm".

From the horrific gulley-erosion of Kondoa-Irangi in Tanzania to the sand deserts of Arabia, to Shensi in China, the continents of the world bear grim evidence of man's destruction of his inheritance — his land which future generations cannot now occupy beneficially and which a new geological age may be needed to repair. Each continent can also show striking examples, as for instance the irrigation systems of Indonesia and Ceylon, or the Gezira in the Sudan, where provident farming ensures the opportunity of prosperity for the generations to come. To feed the future millions of mankind is perhaps the greatest of all world problems. Man cannot afford to mine or mismanage his birthright; but what action is being taken to see that he does not do so?— to encourage him by security of tenure to increase the productivity of his land by modern methods of farming?

One example can be cited from Malawi and we welcome the opportunity to publish Mr. S. R. Simpson's article on the recent bills enacted, on his advice, by the Government of Malawi to put land tenure on a sound and constructive footing. Not only does Mr. Simpson explain the purpose and implications of the new laws but he also draws an interesting comparison between them and those introduced in other countries where the State has already taken steps to safeguard the beneficial occupation of the land.

In the World Bank's *Agricultural Development in Tropical Africa* (John Hopkins Press, Baltimore), prepared under the direction of John C. de Wilde, there is a cautious approach to government intervention in land tenure and the circumstances under which it is likely to be successful — indeed there are great sparsely populated areas in Africa where registration and boundary demarcation would not be economically justified or practically possible. In the summation it is noted that "there may be more widespread

need for other and more flexible methods of regrouping land or of altering the customary allocation of land". The Malawi experiment of combining flexibility with legislation will repay careful attention by others. As we have already announced, the next Cambridge Conference on Development, in March, 1968, will debate "The Rural Base for National Development" when discussion should carry further this vital issue of how to obtain the best usage of land.

In our Quarterly Notes for July, 1967 we included a resumé of the Zambian First National Development Plan, and, in our April issue, Mr. Nigel Heseltine's stimulating article on development planning in Zambia and Madagascar. In this issue we follow with a further article on Zambia in which Mr. Etheredge looks at the place of education in national planning and the bold approach adopted in Zambia to gear the educational programme to the urgent economic and social needs of the country. We also include Mr. Taylor's short account of the crash programme mounted in Zambia to provide induction training for newly elected local authority Councillors. Those responsible must be congratulated on a remarkable feat of organisation. If the extent of the training was limited, there can be little doubt that the exercise, with much stress and strain on the small staff available, will prove infinitely better than to have delayed the courses until they could have been longer—meantime Councillors would have floundered to the detriment of local government business.

We have been paying particular attention in recent numbers to the local administration scene in India, and we now publish Mr. Venkataram's article on the financial problems facing the *Panchayati Raj*. As with local government in every land, viability, and the means to raise adequate revenues, are major problems in India with so great a population to be provided with local services both in the many big cities and in the rural areas of the sub-continent.

A main objective of this Journal is to provide the means for readers to share their administrative problems and learn from each other's experiences. Mr. Mayo-Smith's 'Tools of the Trade' provides examples of training methods used at Kaduna, Northern Nigeria, which can, we feel sure, be usefully followed or adapted for use in other countries. We also include a short article by Mr. Oyinloye of Nigeria who enters a plea, perhaps with a touch of nostalgia, but none the less cogently put, for the administrator to be restored unequivocally to his rightful position as Head of his District Team.

Finally, we are particularly glad to include in this issue an article by Professor Paul Streeten on "Development and the Institute of Development Studies". That the Institute has an important part to play in the British programme for assisting developing countries is made clear and with "hard work, enthusiasm, excitement and responsiveness to ideas" the administrators and planners have now got together in the right environment for successful mutual endeavour to this end.

New Land Law in Malawi

By ROWTON SIMPSON

Mr. Simpson is Land Tenure Adviser, Ministry of Overseas Development, London.

On 4th April, 1967, Dr. Banda, President of Malawi, in person seconded in the Malawi Parliament the second reading of four Bills which, according to the Malawi Hansard, he claimed "when passed as Acts of Parliament, enforced and carried out, will revolutionise our agriculture and transform our country from a poor one into a rich one". Dr. Banda explained how, when he was Minister of Natural Resources, it had become quite clear to him that the customary way of holding land in Malawi and the methods of tilling the land were entirely out of date and totally unsuitable for the economic development of the country, and he went on to say that he had come to the conclusion that, if Malawi was to develop economically on an agricultural basis, the first thing to do was to change the system of land holding and the second was to change the method of land cultivation. It was impossible to do these things legally under the existing law and so the law must be changed. It was to effect this change that the four Bills had been prepared.

The four Bills are:

1. The Customary Land (Development) Bill
2. The Registered Land Bill
3. The Local Land Boards Bill
4. The Malawi Land (Amendment) Bill

and a description of them with some details of their origin and purpose may therefore be of interest to readers of the Journal.

The Customary Land (Development) Bill, 1967

In his speech Dr. Banda said "Under our present system of land holding and land cultivation, no one, either as an institution or as an individual, will lend us money for developing our land because our present methods of land holding and land cultivation are uneconomic and wasteful. They put responsibility on no one. No one is responsible here and now for uneconomic and wasted use of land because no one holds land as an individual. Land is held in common. They say, 'everybody's baby is nobody's baby at all'. We have to put a stop to this, even if only gradually, otherwise there will not be and there will never be any development in this country in the real sense of the word."

The Customary Land (Development) Bill was therefore designed to convert customary tenure to a form of recorded individual title as an essential prelude to improved agricultural development. It provides for the systematic ascertainment of all land rights in any area of customary land which the minister declares for development and which is to be planned from the point of view of best land use, both agricultural and social. School sites, roads and other lands needed for the community are set aside, a distinction being made between public land reserved or used for public purposes and customary land, where land is to continue in customary use by the community until the

time is ripe for individual title. For example, *dambo*[1] land is to be retained, at least for the time being, as common grazing land. Heavy machinery is then used to put in cut-off drains and access roads on the best layout for the crops appropriate to the area, and plots on this layout, approximating as nearly as possible to the former gardens both in site and area (less a percentage if needed for public land) are allocated and demarcated on the ground. A map is made of these allocations and a record is prepared showing the names of those allotted plots as numbered on the map. Thus from the tenurial point of view, two distinct operations are envisaged, the first being the ascertainment of existing rights before replanning, and the second being the redistribution of the land on the planned layout after the esential soil conservation and road work have been done.

The first part of this process, i.e. the procedure for the ascertainment of existing rights, is derived from Part II of the Sudan Land Settlement and Registration Ordinance 1925 which is the current law regulating a process which under the name of 'settlement' has been used in the Sudan since 1898. (The name 'settlement' came from India where as long ago as 1787 a process was devised for 'settling' (i.e. 'fixing') land-revenue, which though intended for fiscal purposes had the much criticised effect of turning the tax-collectors into landowners).

Under the Sudan process, a settlement officer is appointed to be in charge of and responsible for the proceedings in the area declared for settlement and, for this purpose, is given the powers of a judge or magistrate. He is assisted by such demarcation officers, registration officers and survey officers as may be necessary. The settlement officer opens matters by publishing notices saying what is to happen and requiring claims to be made, but it is the demarcation officer who really starts off the proceedings on the site by making sure that every claimant has indicated on the ground the boundaries of the land he claims and that any unclaimed land is demarcated on behalf of the government. Thus every proprietary unit of land is identified. A survey officer, who is a technical officer trained in survey, then prepares a map and each plot is given a distinctive number. Next the registration officer records the names of claimants admitting those claims which satisfy him as being valid if they are undisputed or referring them to the settlement officer for determination if there is a dispute. The Register of Title is made from the final list.

This process, in its essentials, but without specifying the functions of the particular officers, was introduced into Palestine in 1928 and later into Jordan. In 1932 it was taken by Sheppard (co-author with Sir Ernest Dowson of *Land Registration*, a book widely used as a text book) to Sarawak. It may be claimed, therefore, that it is a well tried process and, indeed, it works well enough where the rights to be determined are established and unequivocal individual interests in land, but difficulties begin when it is used to ascertain rights which of their nature amount to less than full ownership or where, as in Kenya, under the name of 'adjudication' (to distinguish it from the 'settlement' of persons on new land which is what 'land settlement' normally means in English) it came, after the second World War, to be used for the

[1] *Dambo* land was described by Dr. Livingstone as 'sponges' and by Kay, in his recent geography of Zambia, as shallow linear depressions within the plateau surface into which run off and seepage waters from adjacent water courses collect.

conversion of customary tenure to individual rights. This process entailed the distribution of tribal land and it was clearly essential to associate the customary land authorities with it. It was in Kenya, therefore, that a procedure was worked out for using 'committees' of elders not merely to ascertain existing rights under customary law, but to aggregate them where more than one were exercised by the same person in separate pieces of land, and then to allocate in full individual ownership single consolidated plots on a planned layout, i.e. the second operation for which the Sudan procedure did not really cater.

It is this Kenya process which has now been adapted for Malawi where the adjudication officer of Kenya, or the settlement officer of the Sudan, is called the allocation officer to emphasise his special function of allocating the planned agricultural unit. Indeed, the whole emphasis of this Malawi bill is on planning and development as is indicated by the short title of the Ordinance itself and the fact that 'areas of customary land' are declared for 'development' rather than for 'adjudication'.

It should be noted that in Kenya the whole task of adjudicating the original claims and then redistributing the land in consolidated holdings is thrown onto the committee, whether there is a dispute or not, and this has proved to be a slow and cumbersome procedure. In Malawi, therefore, it has been provided that the demarcation and recording (registration) officers will (as in the original Sudan procedure) deal with all undisputed claims, and the Committee will be called upon only if there is a boundary dispute which the demarcation officer is unable to resolve or where there are two or more claimants to land and the recording officer is unable to effect agreement between them. Only in such disputed cases will the Committee be required to make the decision, though of course the demarcation and recording officers will be able to seek their advice should they need it.

The allocation officer will formally be brought in only in the event of an objection against a decision of the committee and after they have been given a chance to reconsider it. The procedure on an objection will in fact be much simpler in Malawi than in Kenya where there is an intervening stage of reference to an arbitration board which is complicated and difficult to understand, as well as being time consuming.

The allocation officer has the final word (as does the adjudication officer in Kenya), but there is a further important difference between the new Malawi procedure and the present Kenya law. When the allocation record is complete any person named in or affected by it has sixty days in which to object before it becomes final and in Kenya it then becomes immutable, but in Malawi rectification by the court is to be allowed even in respect of a first registration and so it will still be possible for a registration made or omitted by fraud or mistake to be corrected provided that the land has not been transferred for valuable consideration to a proprietor who had no knowledge of the omission, fraud or mistake.

There is one other feature of the Malawi bill which deserves special mention. It is provided that if the recording officer is satisfied that any family has customary rights in a piece of land which entitles the head of that family to be registered as the proprietor of family land under the Registered Land Act, 1967, he shall record the head of such family as owner of family land.

No such provision exists in Kenya where there is rigid insistence on individualisation but in Malawi there seems to be no point in registering as an individual plot in the name of a sixteen year old boy that part of a holding which he is allowed to use at present but will leave when he marries and goes to live with his wife and, in any case, in due course may have to share with his sister's husband. It seems more sensible, and certainly more realistic, to leave the family plot undivided and register the head of the family as the owner though clearly this provision will have to be used with understanding and discretion if it is not to defeat the objective of setting up individual farmers each responsible for his own land. The provision itself is derived from new legislation in Lagos in Nigeria where family land is so widely recognized and so firmly established that failure to provide for it in the old law naturally held up registration of title. In Lagos, however, more family representatives than one are allowed whereas in Malawi only the head of the family can be the family representative and so only one name is recorded. As an experimental measure which can have far reaching effects – perhaps different from those anticipated – it requires careful observation to see what actually happens in practice.

The Registered Land Bill, 1967

It is obvious that if the 'land ownership' newly created by the Customary Land (Development) Act is to have a chance of developing along the right lines, provision must be made for suitable law and procedure to apply to the new holdings. They cannot just be left to customary law, for dealing in customary land is unknown in Malawi and so customary law has not evolved to make provision for it.

Nor can the new titles be left to the existing substantive law, for the land law used in Malawi in respect of land held on documentary title is English land law and English land law is not really suited to the needs of the Malawi people. It is immensely complicated. It has evolved down the centuries from feudal origins against the background of the large estates of a land-owning aristocracy. Its shortcomings were tackled in England in 1925 by a sweeping reform when nearly 700 years of real property statute law was redrafted and consolidated in seven new Acts. But Malawi has not even got the benefit of this legislation (which indeed, as it stands, is unsuitable) but uses the English law which was in force on 11th August, 1902 and is now quite out of date in England, so even the relevant textbooks get progressively more and more difficult to find. New substantive land law is a vital necessity, not least because, as the law stands at present, recorded title offers no apparent advantage to those seeking security and certainty from the vagaries which are the principal defect of customary tenure. It looks to be merely a jump from the frying-pan of uncertainty into the fire of complexity.

There is a further reason why new legislation is imperative. Registration of title is as yet unknown in Malawi. Registration of title is a process whereby the State makes and maintains a register of land showing all the relevant particulars affecting its ownership, and guarantees these particulars to be complete and correct. The Register is the final authority and the elaborate investigation of title by a highly qualified lawyer which is required under a system of private conveyancing is no longer needed every time there is a

dealing. Transactions are effected by making an entry in the Register, and only by this means. A simple procedure with simple forms, is provided for the purpose, and so dealing in land becomes easy and quick, cheap and safe.

Registration of title was introduced into England by the Land Registry Act 1862 'to give Certainty to the Title to Real Estates; and to facilitate the proof thereof and also to render the dealing with land more simple and economical'. For similar reasons it was introduced into South Australia in 1858 and from there under the name of the Torrens system it spread to the rest of Australia and to New Zealand and many other countries which use English land law. Registration of title is in use in many countries in Africa, such as, for example, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia, but Malawi still uses an old fashioned, slow and expensive type of private conveyancing. There is an overwhelming case for the introduction of registration of title in its own right quite apart from any question of converting customary tenure.

Thus Malawi requires legislation not only to provide a suitable land law but also to introduce a system of registration of title. This legislation could be provided in separate statutes as it is, for example, in England where the Land Registration Act 1925 claims to be merely procedural while the substantive land law is contained in Acts like the Law of Property Act 1925, but the Torrens system, from the outset, aimed at doing more than the English system in the way of reforming the substantive law in the registration statute itself (e.g. the first Torrens Act was actually called the Real Property Act), and the Registered Land Bill has followed and amplified that idea. Its purpose is two-fold. It sets out to establish a complete code of land law which will provide first the machinery of registration of title and secondly all the substantive land law necessary for the practical needs of land owners in regard to the security and proof of title and the creation and transfer of interests in land.

The bill is derived in large measure from the Kenya Registered Land Act 1963. That Act replaced four ordinances which had previously provided for registration of title both on the Torrens and English systems as well as for registration of deeds on the same lines as in Malawi under the Land Registration Ordinance, but its principal and most important feature was that it systematically incorporated all the provisions of the Indian Law of Property Act 1882 which had been applied to East Africa by Order in Council in 1897 and was still in force in Kenya. In repealing and replacing that Act, the Kenya Registered Land Act aimed at including in the registration act all the substantive land law which is normally contained in separate Conveyancing Acts even in countries where there is registration of title. The English Conveyancing Act 1881 is the prototype of this sort of Conveyancing Act and the Law of Property Act 1925 is the current example in England. The Registered Land Act in Kenya, however, sought to unify in one act both the conveyancing and registration laws, and to apply the unified law to all titles whether stemming from grants under statutory law or from the recognition of ownership under customary law.

The Kenya Act was based on a bill prepared by a working party in Lagos in 1960. The report of this working party was printed by the Federal Government of Nigeria and is a convenient reference for anybody interested in its detailed provisions for it contains a commentary on every clause in the

bill[2]. The bill itself was passed into law by the Federal Legislature in 1965.

The Malawi Registered Land Bill is divided into twelve Parts and comprises one hundred and sixty-one sections. Maybe at first sight it looks frightening, but there is really nothing frightening about it. It is couched in simple and plain English. Technical terms of English law have been avoided so far as possible; for instance, there is no reference to freehold or fee simple; land is held in 'absolute ownership'. Where technical terms are used (for instance 'easement', 'lease', 'licence', 'profit') they are clearly defined. It can be claimed that any well educated person can read and understand the whole bill.

The bill provides simple forms for outright transfer (whether by sale, gift or exchange), for charging land (to secure a loan) and for leasing it, and provision is also made for such derivative or subordinate but nevertheless important rights which are known as 'easements' and 'profits *à prendre*' in English law and which already exist in customary law, though naturally not under these names.

There is no need for me to go into detail here in describing the bill or the procedure to be conducted under it, but there are two points which are worth special mention. The provisions with regard to maps and boundaries will repay study. The English system of 'general boundaries' has been adopted, and the register will be illustrated by a registry map. Individual deed plans will not be called for as they are under the existing Land Registration Ordinance in Malawi where the practice is for every plot of land to be surveyed by a professional surveyor and an individual map of great accuracy (e.g. to one hundredth of a foot) to be prepared. Under the new Act, where there is any uncertainty or dispute as to a boundary, the registrar will determine it on such evidence as he considers relevant, and so can take into account evidence other than survey. In this connection it should be noted that provision is made in the bill for the acquisition of title by prescription. "The ownership of land may be acquired by peaceable, open and uninterrupted possession without the permission of any person lawfully entitled to such possession for a period of twelve years: provided that no person shall so acquire the ownership of customary or public land." This means that, in any case, occupation lines which have been undisputed for twelve years become the boundary in law as well as in fact whatever the map may say.

The second point is that the bill does not provide for the issue of any land certificate or certificate of title. It is the entry in the register, and only the entry in the register, which proves title. A certified copy of the register is far more useful than a land certificate or a certificate of title to a land owner who will only require it for a particular purpose at a particular time, for example, upon sale. A land certificate or certificate of title is merely evidence of that entry at the time the certificate was issued and, if used at a later date, it must in any case be supported by a certificate of search to show what is actually on the register at that date. Certificates of title cannot be kept up to date with the register and, moreover, are liable to be lost, destroyed or stolen and so may actually be used for the purposes of fraud. They will not be issued in Malawi, but nevertheless it will still be possible by lodging a 'caution', to effect the equivalent of a mortgage by deposit of title deeds

[2] *Report of a Working Party on Registration of Ownership of Land in Lagos.* 1960 Lagos: Federal Government Printer.

– which may be useful to secure an overdraft at a bank, without going to the extent of drawing up a formal charge.

The Local Land Boards Bill, 1967

There is no surer way of depriving a peasant of his land than to give him a registered title which is as freely negotiable as a bank note and, though freedom of disposition is an essential attribute of individual ownership, paradoxically it must be withheld from the new owners in their own interest, if any account is to be taken of what happened in India and Burma and other places where no control was exercised when individual ownership was first introduced into customary land. Control of dealing is essential in the early days of title, and the purpose of this bill, in the words of Dr. Banda in seconding it, "is to prevent people to whom land has been allocated, from disposing of it irresponsibly . . . The intention of the Bill is to protect the foolish people who might foolishly and stupidly dispose of their land recklessly, without due regard to their own future and the future of their family."

The bill sets up under the chairmanship of the district commissioner a 'Local Land Board' in each 'Land Control Division' declared by the minister. The local land board is composed of representatives of the chiefs (as the traditional land authorities) and prominent local citizens as well as two specialist government officers. It thus combines expertise with local knowledge.

This Board is charged with the duty of examining every proposed land transaction to see in the first instance whether it is fair (for, until they have acquired experience, new landowners require considerable protection in their dealing) and secondly to ensure that the transaction will not adversely affect the use of the land as it might, for instance, in the case of subdivision or of the sale of farming land to a 'non-farmer'. The minister may give a 'general consent' for any particular sort of transaction or for any particular part of a division (e.g. he might give overall consent for all charges to a bank or for all dealings in a particular village – when village land comes to be registered) or he may completely forbid some particular sort of dealing (e.g. a charge to a money lender) or all dealings in a particular area.

Several countries have legislation for the purpose of protecting the interests of unsophisticated land-owners, but the Malawi Bill goes further and extends the functions of the local land boards in two important particulars.

First, they are responsible for family land matters. There is likely to be an increasing demand for the partition of family land when the merits of individual title are appreciated and the board in this regard will carry on the work done by the committee in original adjudication. This arrangement should enable a steady and natural progress to be made towards complete individualization instead of its being imposed on the people at the time of adjudication (or allocation) as under the Kenya legislation. The boards are also responsible for dealing with the replacement of a family representative who has died or has become incapable or who is no longer acceptable to the members of the family.

Secondly, it is provided that the Board shall perform such functions in relation to the powers of control of use of land vested in the Minister by Part VI of the Malawi Land Act 1965 as may be conferred upon the Board

by regulations, directions or instructions issued by the Minister. The minister has very wide powers under the Malawi Land Act, and the board can be his agent, for example, for enforcing the rules of good husbandry. They might be empowered (on the application of, say, the regional agricultural officer) to serve a notice on an unsatisfactory proprietor of land requiring him to do what was needed or dispose of his land to somebody who would. If satisfied that he had failed to comply within a reasonable period the Board might then order sale by public auction in which case the proceeds of the sale, after satisfying the costs of the sale and paying off any registered charge, would go to the outgoing proprietor. This is merely an example of what could be done under the bill, and no policy decision has yet been taken on how these provisions will actually be used.

It should be noted that the bill provides a penalty for attempting to take part in a transaction which does not comply with the Act, whereas Kenya and the Sudan (which have similar legislation) are content merely to make such transactions invalid.

The Malawi Land (Amendment) Bill, 1967

This short bill – it comprises only eight sections – was introduced to enable customary land to become private land and also to vest customary land in the Head of State.

A Bill for the Conversion of Existing Documentary Title to Registered Title

There is, however, another bill which is urgently required in Malawi. If the highly undesirable distinction between titles dealt with under applied English land law and those stemming from customary law is not to be perpetuated, it is imperative to devise procedure for the rapid conversion to registered title of those titles which now rest on title deeds recorded in the deeds registry. There is no ready-made precedent and there are various possibilities. In England, for example, in compulsory areas title must be registered whenever there is a sale or a long lease is granted, but it is a slow business. In Malawi full advantage must be taken of the record kept under the Malawi Land Registration Ordinance if the process is not to drag on indefinitely as it has done in so many countries, not least in England where it has been going on for well over a hundred years and is by no means yet complete. What is really required is a process of systematic adjudication, and a useful precedent for this will be found in a Bill recently drafted for the Turks and Caicos Islands entitled the Land Adjudication Bill, and a similar bill is now under consideration for use in the Bahamas. Provision for systematic adjudication was also made in the British Guyana Land Registration Ordinance 1959, which was devised by a committee which sat for about a year under the chairmanship of a solicitor in local private practice. It is to be hoped that the Malawi authorities will give this aspect of the matter their early attention, and so equip Malawi with a complete body of land legislation which any developing (or even developed) country might well emulate.

The Role of Education in Economic Development: The Example of Zambia[1]

By D. A. ETHEREDGE

Mr. Etheredge is Personnel Consultant to the Anglo-American Group of Companies in Zambia, and was, until recently, a member of the Provincial Council of the University of Zambia.

THE relationship between education and economic development in the developing countries of the world has drawn the attention of leading educators and economists over the last few years. In a sense, there is little that is left to be said by a layman on a subject to which experts like Frederick Harbison, Arthur Lewis and Guy Hunter have devoted so much of their thought and time. There have moreover been a series of major conferences concerning education in the developing countries of Africa, starting with Addis Ababa in 1961 and then in Paris and followed up by others including an important one in Tananarive on the role of universities. Unesco and other agencies have devoted much of their attention to the matter.

All one can offer in a short article is a superficial review of the major issues and some knowledge of the efforts being made by one country, in this case Zambia, to tackle these issues. The timing is appropriate in that within the last few months the Zambian Government has released its first Four Year Development Plan and the first comprehensive Manpower Report. These documents, taken together, provide an interesting study of the reaction of one developing country, in many ways more fortunately placed than most, to the complex problems of development and the part which education has to play in it.

It is the case in most developing states that education is the hand-maiden to economic development. The pressing need to make a reality of political independence by establishing an independent and viable economy, temporarily obscures the true purpose of education. One hopes this is a passing phase but for a time it is not surprising that few politicians and planners take account of the fact that a good educational system has a much greater purpose than merely meeting the manpower needs of a development plan. A panel of secondary school children recently defined education as the process of preparing for a career. Right now, in the context of developing Africa, their definition is acceptable; in the long term it must be replaced by an understanding that education, while essential to career preparation, has larger goals. Man is more than a cog in a machine which is evolved by systematic economic plans and, in time, education must return to its primary function of developing the whole man who is conscious of the traditions and culture of his group as well as being adaptable to change in a changing world.

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[1] This article represents the personal views of the author.

The 1961 Addis Ababa Conference began a new era in education in Africa. It attempted to produce goals for the whole continent, in the short term for the five years to 1965; in the long term for the two decades ending in 1980. Two years later, representatives of the states of Africa met in Paris to review the plan and there have been fairly regular conferences since then to check progress. There has, in fact, been a quite remarkable adherence by most African states to the concept of educational planning. On the other hand, the Addis Ababa conference did little more than set goals; the critical choices to be made so that education and economic development are realistically geared one to the other was left to each country. Some states appear to have made the right choices; others have, perhaps because of political and other pressures, spent vast sums to doubtful ends; yet others are hampered by limited funds and a population explosion.

There is no doubt that an investment in education contributes to economic growth but it needs to be accompanied by other investments so that education is put to good use. To use the jargon of the experts in this field, in this case Harbison and Myers, "a strategy of human resource development requires the integration of a broad range of programmes based upon the findings of a wide range of studies." The best conceived education programme in a developing country is of little value unless it is accompanied by programmes of general development, particularly in rural areas; by the evolution of effective political institutions; the diversification and modernisation of industry and by the establishment of sensible political and economic relationships with neighbouring countries. In turn, if education is to play its part as one aspect of sound development it must be flexible enough to cope with changing patterns of economic and social life.

The task, in the short term, is to gear education to the achievement of economic goals which are usually set out in a development plan. This has not always happened: sometimes an investment has been made in the wrong kinds of formal education or the emphasis has been placed at a level which has little relevance to the development plan. On the one hand, primary education may, in response to political pressure, absorb too great a proportion of available funds; on the other, university education can be so favoured that a country is churning out graduates whose contribution to development is frustrated by the lack of technicians and operatives to support them. Again, higher education has so often concentrated not on the critical need for scientists, agriculturalists and engineers but has poured forth lawyers, economists and white collar workers. It is all a matter of balance, not only within the education system but of that system with the other aspects of the development plan. Graduates in the humanities cannot provide the infrastructure of a developing country; technologists are helpless without technicians; school leavers are no better than illiterates if there are no jobs for them to fill; towns populated with educated citizens will starve unless education has also played its part in the development of rural areas.

There can be little argument that the key to the development of the newly independent states lies in the modernisation of agriculture and the stabilisation of the rural population. Generally speaking, this should precede the growth of industry and the establishment of urban complexes. 'Back to the land' is a heartfelt cry in Africa of paramount importance to success in economic programmes. That it seems at times to be a losing battle is partly

due to faulty planning but more often to the fact that the drift to urban areas is almost irreversible and has happened everywhere in the world no matter how wise statesmen and their advisers might have been. African planners are, however, in many cases, not accepting that the battle is lost and there is better general acknowledgment that the emphasis in economic planning must be on the rural areas, that an agricultural revolution must be achieved before there can be an industrial revolution.

Undoubtedly education has a key role to play in the development of the rural areas of any country. Unless education in Africa is geared to what are essentially rural societies, it cannot play an effective part in economic development. Certainly the system must throw up a number of sophisticated technologists and top-level administrators but the great mass of the people have to be taught how to live happily and productively in rural communities, working with their hands in the soil.

This is recognized by most planners but there is clearly much to be learned about the form and context of rural education. Certainly, the attempts to transplant the system of metropolitan countries to the newly developing states have often led to failure. Similarly, the tendency to stress the virtues of agricultural labour in primary schools and then failure to follow up in secondary schools and universities is still evident and the drift to the towns is not impeded. While education alone cannot be expected to solve social problems which are not caused by education, there is little doubt that if any 'back to the land' movements is to succeed much will depend on the emphasis and context of education in rural schools and the creation of job opportunities in rural areas for the products of these schools. Agricultural employment needs a new image and the school-leaver must be able to see himself as more than a peasant if he is to be prevented from drifting to the towns. There can be no set pattern but in Africa today an education system which is not flexible enough to produce the variety of technicians needed to develop agriculture and the rural infrastructure is not going to play its part in economic development.

Turning to education generally, and while acknowledging the political pressure for universal primary education, there seems little doubt that the emphasis should be placed on secondary education and principally upon the sciences. The secondary school should have priority over the primary and the production of science-oriented pupils priority over others. It is the bookkeepers, school teachers, agricultural demonstrators, nurses, surveyors, journalists and technicians – the products of secondary schools – who are needed in massive quantities in a well ordered expanding economy. Combatting mass literacy at the one end and producing university graduates at the other are important but expansion and prosperity primarily depend upon a diversity of people who have had some secondary education and vocational or technical training. So it is that the secondary schools must be able to feed a diversity of specialised institutions at the sub-professional and technical levels which produce the people who really keep the wheels of the economy running smoothly. There cannot be too many technicians; there can be too many graduate administrators or lawyers or there can be too much emphasis on primary education and literacy at the expense of the critical middle-level of manpower. But no plan is likely to misfire if the emphasis is upon secondary education accompanied by technical and vocational offshoots. If

this educational complex is aimed primarily at rural development and the improvement of transportation, communications and markets, the limitation of education to the role of hand-maiden is for a period of time thoroughly justified.

Zambia appears to the outside world, because of its vast copper mining industry, to be particularly well placed to achieve a high level of economic development in a short time. Clearly it is financially better placed than most states in Africa even though it has had to bear the brunt of the consequences of the Rhodesian declaration of independence. Nevertheless Zambia has entered its phase of economic development with precisely the same problems as face the poorer countries – a completely inadequate and poorly oriented education system together with long years of neglect of the rural areas in favour of the 'line of rail'. Despite its mineral wealth, Zambia was inadequately prepared, in terms of educated and skilled manpower, to cope with independance, more so than many other countries which would appear to have been less favourably placed than Zambia in economic terms. There were in 1964, only 1,200 Zambians who had obtained secondary school certificates, a level which Ghana had reached in 1943, Kenya in 1957 and Tanzania in 1960. The number of graduates was about one hundred (only one of them an engineer), a paltry figure when it is appreciated that the mining industry alone requires over five hundred graduates (mainly technologists) to man its complex plants. To aggravate the problem, independence not only meant an increasing tempo of social and economic development as it has done in other countries, but the return to the territorial government of a whole range of functions which had previously been the responsibility of of the Federal Government in Salisbury. The demand for skills was enormous and the actual position in the country was that the majority of the populaton was either unschooled or illiterate in the sense that they had had less than four years of primary education. The position at independence is summarised in the Manpower Report published by the Government at the end of 1966 which stated that Zambia then faced four major manpower problems:

(*a*) a scarcity of skilled and educated manpower;
(*b*) a surplus of unskilled labour, beyond the number of wage-earning jobs which the economy could provide;
(*c*) attitudes which reflected the values of the colonial and traditional past, which too often fostered prejudice against technical skills and manual work, rather than emphasising the needs of development in independent Zambia;
(*d*) an extreme dependence on expatriate manpower at most levels of skilled employment in Government and in the private sector.

Dr. Kaunda's Government lost no time in grappling with these issues. The expansion in education, one aspect of a Transitional Development Plan, has been impressive including the provision of 100,000 new places in primary schools, the abolition of racial segregation in schools, a vast forward thrust in secondary education, the expansion of technical and vocational education and the establishment of the University of Zambia.

Now the Transitional Development Plan has given way to the First Development Plan 1966–1970, perhaps the most ambitious of its kind in the story of developing countries. It calls for the capital investment of nearly

£430,000,000 in the period 1966–1970 and a recurrent expenditure of £340,000,000.

The objectives of the plan must be summarised so that consideration can be given to the question whether the education system is sensibly geared to the overall programme. These objectives are briefly:—

(*a*) to diversify the economy which is too reliant on copper and on the import of goods;
(*b*) to increase employment by at least 100,000 jobs by 1970 so that there will then be 400,000 in salaried employment;
(*c*) to increase the average monetary output per capita from about £61 in 1964 to about £100 in 1970;
(*d*) to maintain reasonable price stability;
(*e*) to minimise the inherited economic imbalance between the rural and urban sectors with a view to raising the capacity of the latter sector for transforming resources into social and economic growth;
(*f*) to raise rapidly the general levels of education, as well as develop a wide range of specific technical, administrative, executive, professional and management skills in the population;
(*g*) to provide more and better houses and better welfare amenities;
(*h*) to develop new communications, sources of energy, transport and other economic infrastructure for a new economic order.

By any standards this is a well-balanced plan. It cannot, of course, proceed in an orderly fashion as some objectives are dependent on the progress of others and at times there will be periods of imbalance. Moreover, it has to be achieved against the background of the severe economic difficulties created for Zambia by the Rhodesian U.D.I., a serious short-term obstacle although undoubtedly a long-term blessing in disguise, as it has accelerated the effort to diversify Zambia's transport routes and markets.

A serious impediment, acknowledged amongst the objectives of the plan (i.e. to maintain reasonable price stability) would be an abnormal inflationary spiral. An inflationary trend is in fact already evident and has been given impetus by handsome wage increase in recent months in the mining industry, civil service and the private sector generally. On the other hand, Government has enhanced the general objectives of the plan by ensuring that these increases have not been confined to the towns and industrial areas – in fact, the proportionately large increases have gone to workers in the rural areas in keeping with the policy of reducing the disparity between rural and urban incomes. This policy, set out in the White Paper which accompanied the Whelan Report on salaries and conditions of service in the public services, is of critical importance to the balanced development of the economy involving an emphasis on rural development.

It is against these general objectives that Zambia's education programmes must be measured and a judgment made as to whether they are properly geared to economic development. The aims of this programme are to provide universal primary education of seven years duration by 1970 for all children in urban areas and 75 per cent. of those in rural areas (well ahead of the Addis Ababa goals) and to improve the quality of this primary education through better and expanded teacher training. More important still, the number of children in secondary schools is to be very nearly trebled over the four year period and greater facilities provided for technical and vocational

education. This is admitted to be no more than a start as the expansion of secondary education will have to be continued throughout the next decade to meet the manpower needs of the country. The infant University of Zambia is to be expanded and its courses diversified so that it has an enrolment of over 1,600 students by 1970. Finally, adult education facilities are to be expanded and greater use made of radio, television and other aids in meeting the needs of adults who lost the opportunity of schooling.

It is a staggering programme. The secondary school expansion envisaged is twice as fast as that of Kenya or Uganda and the target increase of university enrolments is probably unequalled in the world. It relies heavily upon the availability of expatriate teachers of whom about 2,500 will be required by 1970.

One might question the wisdom of so vast a programme but there is no doubt about the enthusiasm with which it is being tackled nor of the awareness of the Government of the dangers of rapid expansion. It is frankly stated in the plan that quantitative expansion might distract attention from the need for qualitative improvement at all levels in the educational system and also from the need to carry out intensive research so that the programme remains flexible, new policies can be introduced and the recurrent cost of schools efficiently controlled so that education does not become an impossible burden on the country. Education is already the nation's most expensive public activity and cost control is needed "not to cut down on educational activity, but to make possible its further expansion and its greater efficiency in achieving its vital objectives".

Some idea of the allocation of capital expenditure on education is needed to ascertain how closely it is geared to national development. The first significant point is that almost twice as much capital is to be spent on secondary education (£14.7 million) as on primary education (£7.5 million). Technical and further education will cost another £3.2 million, and the University has been allocated £8 million. Teacher training involves capital expenditure of the order of £1.5 million while adult education, audio visual education, library services and bursaries account for £4 million.

It is rather more difficult to ascertain the allocation of capital expenditure between urban and rural areas as the plan does not give sufficient detail but it is evident that at least half of the total expenditure of about £39 million is to be spent in wholly-rural provinces, in fact, the proportion for rural areas is probably rather higher as the two major urban areas – the Copperbelt and the towns of Lusaka and Broken Hill – fall within two provinces which themselves have large rural populations. Moreover, national education projects which serve both urban and rural areas, are rather naturally concentrated on these two provinces – the University, the Northern Technical College, the College of Further Education, the Natural Resources College etc. It is also clear that the proportion of expenditure on rural areas is greater for education than for any activity other than agriculture itself.

A scrutiny of the plan leaves one in no doubt that the Zambian Government has accepted the fundamental importance of developing the rural areas. This is in fact made clear by the President, Dr. Kaunda, in his introduction to the plan:

"A constant preoccupation of my Government is the disparity in the standard of living between the rural masses and the comparatively limited

urban and industrial sector. Throughout this Plan an effort has been made to localise investment and to increase to a maximum, consistent with their capacity of absorption, investment in the less favoured provinces of the country. This does not mean that we have neglected the growing industrial and urban centres of prosperity. A close examination of this plan will show that investment levels in the urban centres still outweigh those in their rural counterparts; for, while we must attempt to redress imbalance, we must at the same time invest in growth, and it would be foolish to exclude the areas of prosperity which will themselves contribute directly or indirectly to raising the prosperity of neighbouring provinces. While the plan will not redress the inherited imbalance between rural and urban sectors it does aim at provoking growth in both by wise allocation of investment wherever it can be usefully absorbed. As I have said earlier, the plan has been conceived, not only to favour investment wherever possible in rural areas, but to provide at the same time a clear regional programme for each of the eight provinces with which they can be identified."

It is equally clear that the education programme is geared to this general policy and that the emphasis has rightly been placed on secondary, technical and higher education and the expansion of these in rural areas. There is also a recognition of the important fact that the majority of primary school leavers will have to make their livelihood in the rural areas on the land and the primary education must be equal to this challenge not only in the sense of what is taught but also in the attitudes created. The need for continuous discussion, experiment and evaluation is acknowledged. As is stated in the Manpower Report: "Successful development of the rural areas, as well as the morale and stability of the country, depends in no small way on finding solutions to this problem."

As far as secondary, technical and vocational education is concerned, the output over the next four years falls so far short of the need that there is as yet little emphasis on gearing it specifically towards the need for rural development. Certainly the plan provides for new secondary schools and trades schools in the rural provincial centres but it is in the following decade that imaginative planning will be needed to avoid rural secondary school syllabuses being orientated towards careers in the towns. At present, the most important issue is to retain flexibility in secondary, technical and vocational education while at the same time co-ordinating the efforts of the great variety of institutions which are being developed. There is already evidence that co-ordination is insufficient and that attention needs to be focussed on the growing overlap in opportunities being offered by what might be better as specialised institutions. Much thought needs to be given to the role that is to be played by the Natural Resources College, the College of Further Education, the Northern Technical College and other institutions, some still to be established which, amongst them, have the vital task of producing the nations technicians, in the widest sense of that term. The Lockwood Committee which advised on the establishment of the University some years back recommended the establishment of a National Council of Education. This has only now been formed and it is important that it should get to grips with the problem. It is not a matter of insufficient attention to technician training – which is of course also a major aspect of training in the private sector particularly on the mines – but of the need to evaluate what is

being done and co-ordinate the diversity of effort to achieve the best results.

A particular problem in Zambia in regard to technical training is that the University entrance qualifications which are set at O Level are not greater than those required for a number of fields of technician training. There is a danger that men and women will turn their backs on technician education because of the glamour of a degree. Other developing countries have suffered from this problem and some have found themselves with a disproportionate ratio of graduates to technicians. There is no reason to believe that the Government and its planners are not aware of this problem but further attention will have to be given soon to making the various forms of technician training and the careers to which they lead rather more attractive than they seem to be now.

All in all, however, it is evident that Zambia's National Development Plan and Manpower Report, together with the half-formulated wages and incomes policy enunciated in the Whelan Report White Paper, provide a sound and comprehensive programme for economic development and that the education system is being expanded and modified to play its proper role in this plan. Other factors, such as inflation, political problems involving neighbouring states and the always uncertain future of the copper market and prices may have adverse effects on the implementation of the plan but if all goes well Zambia should provide an outstanding example of planned expansion on a massive scale in which all the elements, not the least education, have been drawn together to create a prosperous nation and a better life for every citizen whether he lives on the land or in the industrial centres.

Financial Administration of Panchayati Raj in India

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THE purpose of this article[1] is to spotlight the problems of financial administration of *Panchayati Raj* institutions in India and to discuss them in general terms applicable to developing countries. The term *panchayati raj* refers to the pattern of rural local government established in recent years in India in view of the need felt for democratic decentralisation and in pursuance of the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the Constitution which provide, *inter alia*, for the establishment of *panchayats* all over the country. The pattern of rural local government varies from state to state within the federation and some states have three tiers of local government and others two. The nomenclature of the local bodies also varies in certain cases. Broadly speaking, the term panchayat refers to the local government institution at the village level and the term *panchayat samiti* refers to the local government institution for an area of roughly 80,000 population and covering usually a number of panchayats. The term, *Zila Parishad*, refers to the local government institution at the district level, but there is no *zila parishad* in states with two tier authorities only.

It is not difficult to see why the financial administration of these local bodies is important, for an ill-organised administration can be as grave a handicap as paucity of local finances. It is in less than two decades that the entire country has been covered with *panchayats* presided over by non-officials most of whom are new to handling financial responsibilities.[2] A number of development schemes are to be implemented through these local bodies and important functions in the fields of elementary education, public health and roads have been delegated to them. The quantum of government grants to them has also increased substantially in recent years. The volume of money handled by them is quite large and much greater than local bodies of that size ever handled before. Table I illustrates how the quantum of government grants to *panchayati raj* bodies is now a substantial portion of the states' revenue expenditure as a whole and of their development expenditure in particular.

[1] The views expressed are the personal views of the author and not that of the Government of Madras which employs him.

[2] As on March, 1964, there were over 200,000 *panchayats* in the country covering 533,000 villages and a population of 283 millions (which is about 95 per cent. of the rural population). The number of *samitis* will eventually be around 5,000. See pp. 20 and 23 of *Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Co-operation*. Publications Division, Government of India.

TABLE I

Year	Grants to *Panchayati Raj bodies*	Total Revenue *Expenditure of States*	Percentage *of* (2) *to* (3)	(Rs.) Total *development expenditure of States*	Percentage *of* (2) *to* (5)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1961-62	77.05	1042.00	7%	615.16	13%
1962-63	133.99	1170.97	11%	673.06	20%
1963-64	138.94	1269.16	11%	727.54	19%

(Source: Col. (2) is taken from p.73, vol. I of the Report of the Study Team on *Panchayati Raj* Finance, 1963 and cols. (3) and (5) from '*Finances of State Governments*', *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, May, 1964. The table excludes Gujarat and Jammu and Kashmir, for which figures under col. 2 are not available. Figures under col. (2) for 1962-63 and 1963-64 are estimates not actuals).

Table II shows the position in 1963-64 in respect of the three states where the quantum of government grants was the highest.

TABLE II

Name of State	Year: 1963-64 Grants to *Panchayati Raj bodies*	*Total Revenue Expenditure of state*	*Percentage of* (2) *to* (3)	(*Rs.*) *Total development expenditure of state*	*Percentage of* (2) *to* (5)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Andhra Pradesh	26.73	113.91	23%	69.89	38%
Madras	28.69	120.77	24%	77.99	37%
Maharashtra	39.25	156.88	25%	71.56	55%

(Source: As for Table I)

It is clear that the success of the newly formed *panchayati raj* institutions and the extent of further enlargement of their functions will depend largely on their sound financial administration.

It is necessary at this stage to be clear in our minds as to what we mean by financial administration. Too often discussion on financial administration is concentrated on rules and procedures, powers of sanction and so on. But the problems of financial administration have to be viewed in a larger perspective in developing countries. The first step is to note that financial administration can be looked at from two points of view, that is to say, from the point of view of the local bodies as well as that of the government which creates the local bodies. Secondly, financial administration is not confined to what happens to the money that a local body gets but extends to the entire ambit of central-local relations and administration of grants which constitute a substantial portion of local body resources. It is usual to sidestep the issues involved in the proper administration of local finance by regarding this matter as incidental to policy, but this would be to ignore the extent to which defective financial machinery can defeat the aims of policy and create an aura of failure around the whole experiment of decentralisation. Our endeavour will therefore be to look at the problems of financial administration in a larger perspective.

It is not often appreciated that the state governments have a great responsibility for the success of the *panchayati raj* institutions in general and of their financial administration in particular, for the local bodies are after all their own creations and practically all regulations are made by them.

The extent to which non-officials mishandle the money or the local bodies go slow in taxation or revenue collection or find themselves in dire financial difficulties is easily understood and all too well known, but not so well appreciated is the extent to which the lack of a co-ordinated approach on the part of the state government results in less startling but equally stultifying results in the functioning of local bodies. Well organised administration of finances will ensure to the local bodies:

(*a*) a reasonable parity between functions and finances;
(*b*) certainty of resources and the facility for planning ahead;
(*c*) timely flow of funds;
(*d*) simplicity of procedures which make budgeting and accounting possible at lower levels;
(*e*) supervision and guidance based on information but not control of all the processes of getting and spending.

We may now proceed to consider these aspects briefly. One feature of central – local government relations the world over has been the general failure to match functions and finances. But the delegation of functions without devolution of adequate resources is not only meaningless; it can also be dangerous. It will result in the failure to provide reasonable local services and diminish the confidence of the people in the government. Besides, if essential social service functions like education and health are delegated to local bodies with no commensurate devolution of resources, it is tantamount to releasing the government's resources for less essential expenditure at the government level and this would mean the distortion of priorities in government spending. One of the primary tasks of financial administration is therefore to provide for a financial settlement which ensures a reasonable parity between local functions and finances. This is obviously best done when the legislation is enacted bringing the local bodies into being but this is not usually done unless there is a vigilant state financial agency which sees its duty as something more than merely controlling expenditure. Speaking of the *panchayats*, the Study Team on *Panchayati Raj* finances ruefully says: 'We cannot help wishing that when the Acts were passed by the legislatures, an attempt had been made to estimate the minimum cost of fulfilling the obligatory functions and to provide resources for the purpose. The actual resources often vary inversely to the number and extent of obligatory functions'.[3] One of the primary tasks in local government development in India is to move consciously towards a situation where there is a reasonable parity between functions and finances. This has to be done quickly, before the *Panchayati Raj* bodies are blamed for lack of progress which may be really due to lack of funds. But the difficulty is that the states themselves are not financially well off and they are apt to view with disfavour any move to increase their contributions to local body finances. The obvious step is not to await for a financial millennium but to evolve objective and practicable standards of expenditure and to ensure that these standards will be kept up. This will also provide a yardstick for judging the performance of local bodies for it is easy to criticise the low levels of performance of local bodies without remembering that they do not have the financial viability to do better.

[3] P. 10 vol. I. Report of the Study Team on Panchayati Raj Finances, 1963, hereinafter referred to as 'Study Team'.

An equally important consideration is that, given the decision to transfer a certain quantum of resources, the local bodies should have a reasonable certainty of their availability so that they could take their share into account and plan ahead. Previously the local bodies were not quite sure of what they would get because the state governments were not sure of what they would give, or, in any case, would not commit themselves in advance. The result was the local bodies never looked farther ahead than a year and the implementation of schemes was in consequence haphazard. The position is not however entirely satisfactory in many states and one of the terms of reference of a Study Group appointed by the Government of India to go into the budgeting and accounting procedures of *panchayati raj* institutions was to recommend measures for 'rationalising the budgeting procedure, with a view to ensure that allocations of funds are indicated to *panchayati raj* bodies at the beginning of each year, to help them plan their annual programmes in time and to facilitate the prompt and regular flow of funds for the speedy execution of the development schemes entrusted to them.'[4]

Madras State has taken a step forward in this regard by framing what is known as a *Panchayat* Development Schematic Budget for the Third Plan period. What it did was to list in the form of a tabular statement all the resources of *panchayat samitis*[5] and *panchayats*, whether their own resources, devolutions, grants or voluntary contributions from the people, for the entire plan period. Separate columns were provided to show the resources of *panchayats* and *samitis*. Each *panchayat samiti* was asked to prepare a similar statement for its own area and detailed instructions were given regarding the manner of estimation of the resources, particularly the grants. The result is that it has been possible for the *panchayat samitis* to have an idea of the quantum of resources they will have for the plan period and thus take advance and continuous action for the implementation of schemes. They know the total amount of grants which would be available to them from year to year and the amount of resources they might have to raise to utilise the grants. The framing of such a budget implied a willingness on the part of the State Government to commit itself on the question of future provision of grants. The cost of such commitment is negligible compared with the advantage that the state government derives from having a comprehensive picture of *panchayati raj* finances and from knowing where it stands and from being reasonably sure that the schemes it wants implemented will be implemented smoothly. It is true to say that the remarkable progress in the works programme in Madras (i.e. sinking of drinking water wells, village roads and primary school buildings) has been due to the foresight of the State Government to commit itself well in advance to provide resources. Both the Study Team and the Study Group have commended the examination of this five year schematic budget for adoption by other states, for this as well as other reasons.

The timely flow of funds is another important factor affecting the ability of the local bodies to carry on their activities effectively. A large volume of government grants is necessary to sustain certain activities, especially education. At the same time, income from the collection of taxes by local

[4] P. 2, Report of the Study Group on Budgeting and Accounting Procedure of Panchayati Raj Institutions, 1963. Hereafter referred to as 'Study Group'.

[5] These are known as *Panchayat* Unions in Madras but are referred to here by the more general name to avoid confusion.

bodies accrues only in certain months because of the nature of the taxes, while expenditure is more generally spread throughout the year. Taxes collected by the state government on behalf of the local body may not be released promptly by the state government. Payment of salaries of teachers and local government personnel is likely to be held up, as may be payment for works, unless the state government devises suitable procedures for the timely flow of funds. The procedures vary not only from state to state but for different kinds of other disbursements within the states themselves. Though absolute uniformity is neither necessary nor to be expected, certain points have to be kept in mind. From the point of view of local bodies the best thing would be to have the entire resources handed over at the beginning of the financial year. But states have to look to their own ways and means position, which is often not a happy one, and even where the local bodies lodge their funds in state accounts so that the transfer of resources would not affect the total position the states are chary of doing so. Furthermore, the fear that local bodies may indulge in extravagant expenditure or apply the resources for unauthorised purposes, leaving audit to find them out later, prevents the states from transferring funds in advance. There is no doubt, however, that the state governments have to resolve this matter if the *panchayati raj* bodies are to function effectively.

The question of simplicity in budgeting and accounting raises a number of issues. First is the complexity of procedures which 'grows by what it feeds on.' Not only are there various grants, administered by different departments, but the central government also gives grants for community development blocks which are in most states ultimately channelled through *panchayat samitis* and it requires separate returns and separate accounting for these grants. In some cases there are grants from different agencies for the same purpose but requiring separate accounting. Needless to say, the state budget itself is fairly complicated and when the state accounting procedures get reflected in the local bodies they are apt to result in a good deal of budgeting and accounting complications which are neither understood nor necessary at that level.

There is, in addition, the question of personnel. At the level of the village *panchayat* it is the non-official *panchayat* president who has to maintain the accounts and he is in most cases helped by a part-time or full-time *panchayat* secretary. As it is, in quite a few cases the auditor himself has to compile the accounts before auditing! The need for simplicity in budgeting and accounting cannot therefore be over-emphasised. Even at the *samiti* level where there is an accountant for this purpose and the over-all responsibility rests with the Block Development Officer, there are a number of difficulties. In some states there is no separate cadre of accountants and lack of training and frequent transfers can disrupt the entire financial administration of the *samiti*. The block development officers are themselves keen on producing spectacular results in their field work and on getting good reports from their superiors, and, unless the superiors show an interest in the financial administration, the block development officers are apt to make no effort to understand the essentials of budgeting and accounting and would rather leave this to the accountant. As the Study Group has said, a change in this attitude would be worth more than a score of administrative arrangements.

The financial administrator is in a sense faced with a dilemma here. Obviously the most important thing is that for purposes of development, certain schemes should be put onto the ground in the shortest possible time and this means the maximum reduction of paper work. But sometimes it is easy to exaggerate the amount of paper work on the financial side. The number of registers to be maintained does not necessarily give a correct picture of the amount of work involved, for half of them may require only an entry or two once or twice a year. Fundamentally multiplicity of accounts, registers etc. can be said to arise either from lack of trust or from the desire to consolidate information. Many registers on the financial side arise from the need to provide checks and balances against individual improprieties and in spite of such checks and balances, improprieties do occur when the financial procedures are totally disregarded or bypassed. In attempting to reduce accounting work, therefore, one has to proceed cautiously and with a sense of discrimination about what is important and what is not.

We now come to the question of supervision and guidance. This, along with the considerations we have already discussed, raises the basic question: who is to look after all these aspects of financial administration? Most of the *panchayati raj* matters are dealt with by the Development Commissioner and his organisation in most state governments but the sanction of grants tends to be dispersed among the departments concerned. It has been argued that there is no virtue in a single agency if it involves delay and if it results in other departments losing interest in *panchayati raj*. There can, however, be no doubt that there is need for a high level officer in the development commissioner's organisation on whom the entire responsibility for financial co-ordination and administration can be fixed. Madras State has in recent years an officer called the Director of *Panchayat* Finance for this purpose. The initial work involved in the financial machinery of *panchayati raj* is so great that it is desirable to have a separate high level officer, who can ensure that prompt and accurate budgeting and accounting practices are inculcated in these new bodies and that in the long term interests of these institutions, financial administration is not neglected in the general rush of development.

Audit raises some important issues. Generally speaking, the practice in the states has been to have an independent audit officer viz. the Examiner of Local Fund Accounts to audit the transactions of *panchayat samitis* and *zila parishads* and to entrust audit of village *panchayats* to the administrative department itself. In the latter case the auditors are called the *Panchayat* extension officers whose duty is not only to audit the *panchayats* but to hold enquiries, report on the formation of *panchayats* and to act as a liaison for development between them and the government. This kind of administrative audit is open to objection on theoretical grounds but is sound from the point of view of practical policy since *panchayats* and their presidents cannot really stand the rigour of formal audit which a specialised organisation like that of the examiner will involve. The possibilities of constructive and educative audit are greater in the existing setup. Whatever the organisation, the need has been clearly recognised to have frequent periodical and comprehensive audit of the accounts of these new institutions and to vest powers of recovery of misused funds with the auditors. The Public Accounts Committees of state legislatures and the Accountants – General who audit

state expenditure have become keenly aware of the increasing amount of state funds channelled to *panchayati raj* institutions and have been in favour of increased audit in general and audit of grants-in-aid from state governments in particular. It should however be remembered that while there can be no two opinions on the need to check misappropriations or malpractices, it is easy to stifle the growth of these new rural institutions with an excessive preoccupation with audit and to develop a consequent disinclination to take initiative. Future policy can best be decided by studying the audit reports issued so far. Repetitive irregularities of a routine nature can be cured by more instruction and training, whereas if serious irregularities are found to be persistent or widespread, it would be necessary to tighten audit arrangements.

Another point to be noted in the matter of supervision is that channels of information and statistics are as yet unsatisfactory. One significant feature of the Study Team's report is the lack of statistical information. The onus for remedying this of course lies on the state governments. The annual administration reports on *panchayati raj* institutions can be enlarged into a comprehensive and useful form and they will have to be published much quicker than they are at present. The central Ministry of Community Development has been urging on state governments to consider the feasibility of having a separate *Panchayati raj* sector in the state budgets. While this may not be possible under existing procedures for classification of government expenditure, the consolidation and publication of information relating to *panchayati raj* at the time of the budget will be useful for administrators and legislators alike.

We have so far been considering various aspects of financial administration from the point of view of the state government. While the same considerations apply when viewed from the side of the local bodies, there are a few other aspects to be noted. One is to ensure the interest of the members in budgeting and to build up traditions of prudent financial management and to achieve this the first step is to make all the members understand what the budget is about and what it means in physical terms. The budgets of these bodies are usually scrutinised by the higher tier bodies or by a government officer before they are passed. Opportunity should be taken during such scrutiny to guide these bodies in the proper preparation of their budgets. The Study Team says: "We regret to say that our experience of the budgets of *panchayati raj* bodies has not been generally happy. In most cases, there was no relation between the budget estimates and the actuals. This is not entirely the fault of *panchayats* and *samitis*. The quantum of grants and subventions which are due from the State Government, is not intimated to them in time and they put in arbitrary estimates lest omission should prejudice their case."[6]

The difficulty is probably the greatest in the case of the *panchayats* where even getting the budgets framed and passed in time is apt to be a problem. Setting proper standards of preparation and scrutiny is again difficult for the numerous *Panchayat* extension officers have first to be suitably trained in this regard. In some states the Panchayat extension officer is an official under the *samiti* and does not always feel equal to the task of correcting and

[6] P. 39, vol. I.

advising the *panchayat* presidents who may be members of the *samiti*. In such cases audit may also be more lax than is desirable.

Another difficulty with *panchayats* is their disinclination to collect taxes, a laxness which the Study Team has declared as deplorable. Persuasion as well as sanction has to be applied to improve the position and concerted efforts are necessary. One method of solving the problem would be to entrust the collection to another agency, e.g. the village officers, as Madras State has done. The levy of certain taxes by *panchayats* is now sought to be made compulsory in many states but this will not by itself be sufficient unless it is ensured that *panchayats* do actually levy them and collect them.

Taxation is a matter in which *panchayati raj* institutions have to be trained. Resources can be obtained from the comparatively untapped rural sector for development purposes if it is shown to the local people that the taxes will result in direct local benefits. There has been a remarkable willingness to tax in certain cases, as evidenced by the action of *samitis* in Madras State to raise funds for primary education. But, by and large, a certain amount of official guidance and mild pressure, rather than a *laissez faire* attitude, will be necessary to make the process of local taxation effective.

Some of the issued we have discussed may make one wonder whether it is appropriate at all to impose complicated administrative structures and procedures on these rural local bodies and we may perhaps end on this reflection. It can be argued that such official procedures are foreign to the informal way of village life, that really effective village leaders would not care to be associated with *panchayats* if all these complexities are involved and that we should not aggravate the difficulties of *panchayats* which have already a formidable task in their struggle for predominance over traditional leadership. But such arguments underestimate the capacity of the rural people for adjustment and ignore the need for creating a new government-sponsored leadership which can in due course act as a spearhead of development. Besides we cannot do away with the concept of accountability for public money and the rural leaders should know that accountability means not only that public money is properly spent but is seen to be properly spent. Given keenness and perception on the part of the state governments, most of the problems of administration in *panchayati raj* are capable of solution.

Tools for the Trade: materials for Public Service Training

By IAN MAYO-SMITH

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One of the greatest difficulties experienced by those engaged in public service training in developing countries has been to find suitable training materials. Very few text books produced in countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States are really suitable. Such text books, however excellent in content, usually appear quite out of context and, therefore, irrelevant in a developing country. This applies even more so to audio-visual materials such as films and film strips.

At the present time, therefore, it follows that one of the first tasks a public service training organization in a developing country ought to undertake is the creation of its own training manuals. This may involve a great deal of staff time, but without it the training programmes will be gravely handicapped.

A number of institutions have made notable contributions in this field. Among such institutions in Africa, the Staff Training College, Lusaka, has produced excellent and imaginative training materials, as has the Malawi Institute of Public Administration. *The Greenhill Case Book*, published by the Institute of Public Administration in Accra is also worthy of note. In the field of English language training for public servants the books produced by Mr. and Mrs. D. A. Richards of the Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, deserve special mention.

Often manuals of instruction produced by one institution can be used by other institutions in the same country or even in other countries, though in this case some adaptation may be necessary. In other cases materials produced in one country, although not suitable for adoption in another, may inspire the writing of a new text, using many of the ideas in the original material.

It is therefore important that all concerned with public service training in developing countries should be aware of materials now being produced. It is hoped therefore that the following account of the creation of materials at the Staff Development Centre, Kaduna, Nigeria, in the past two years, will be of interest and value to those with similar problems elsewhere.

The Staff Development Centre is the central in-service training institution for the public service in Northern Nigeria. It has three departments; a Language Department running intensive courses in French, Hausa and the improvement of written and spoken English; a Department of Administration and Government Procedures, which runs courses in civil service procedures and techniques for all levels of staff from storemen to administrative and professional officers; and a Department of Specialist Services which, *inter alia* runs courses for departmental instructors and advanced courses for

stenographers and personal secretaries. The Centre is not, however, concerned with basic clerical and secretarial training, which is carried out in four separate provincial training centres.[1]

The Centre became fully operative about October, 1964, and was immediately faced with the problem of finding suitable materials for its courses.

The writer, who was Head of the Department of Administration and Government Procedures, was particularly concerned about the teaching of government procedures, an uninspiring subject, but one which formed an extremely important part of nearly all the courses run by the department. The tendency in previous training courses at other institutions had been for this subject (or rather series of subjects) to be taught by an instructor going through the various books of regulations (General Orders, Financial Instructions, etc.) chapter by chapter and trying to teach by rote.

The very obvious faults of such a system were, firstly, that, although it may have taught the trainees the regulations, it taught them nothing about how to apply and interpret them. Secondly, it involved a great deal of wasted time in learning by heart regulations which were subject to modification at any time and which, in any case, could always be looked up in the appropriate book. Quite apart from this it was deadly dull for the trainees.

It was clearly desirable that the teaching of government procedures should have as practical a bias as possible and should give the trainees practice in applying the regulations and interpreting them. So a short manual was written, consisting of a story about the career of an imaginary civil servant Mallam Maigari Kaduna, which described in thirteen chapters the various problems, official and personal, he faces during his service. At the end of each chapter there is an exercise in which students have to attempt to solve the various problems confronting Maigari, by reference to the regulations.

The use of this manual was an immediate success, mainly, I think, because it made the teaching of government regulations appear directly relevant to the daily work of the trainees. The story of Maigari in itself was sufficiently interesting to hold the trainees' attention.

In the book, Maigari joins the civil service as a trainee in the executive grade and by the thirteenth chapter he has reached the 'superscale' post of staff officer in a major ministry. The first trainees on whom *Maigari* was tried out were in fact themselves executive grade trainees and it soon became clear that most of them felt a high degree of identification with the hero! A curious coincidence was that another character in *Maigari* was a woman civil servant, Mallama Amina, of exceptional ability. On the first course on which the manual was used there was one woman trainee, who proved to be the outstanding participant on the course. Her name was Mallama Amina!

Maigari was first produced in duplicated form, but as it has now been adopted by a number of other training institutions and is used on many courses at the S.D.C. it was decided to publish it and put it on general sale. A number of copies have been sold to individual civil servants who have to pass, within three years of joining the service, examinations in government regulations. They use the manual for private study to prepare for their examinations.

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[1] For further details of the work of the Staff Development Centre, see the article by J. H. Smith in the January, 1966 issue of this *Journal*.

Shortly after *Maigari* was completed, work was started on another manual. This was to be a *vade mecum* for all middle and senior civil servants who passed through courses at the S.D.C. and would contain notes on various subjects of importance to the official, whether full time administrator, technician or professional, who had to spend an appreciable part of his time on administrative work. This manual was given the title, *The Adex Handbook* as it was intended for administrators and executives.

It had become clear to us at the Centre that there was an urgent need for short training courses to be held for professional officers (such as medical officers, education officers, veterinary officers, engineers etc.) and technical officers (such as agricultural superintendents, health superintendents, produce officers, laboratory superintendents), who were often given considerable administrative responsibilities, but very little administrative support and, up till then, no training at all to help them carry out their administrative functions. A series of somewhat experimental courses for these officers was therefore started, and it was hoped that the *Adex* handbook would prove of particular value to them.

At this point the Centre was particularly fortunate to have a visit from Mr. John D. McNeilly of the Staff Training College, Lusaka, who brought with him some of the excellent training materials that he and his colleagues in Zambia had prepared. It was felt that with a certain amount of adaptation to local circumstances some of the Zambian materials would fill in gaps in the material we had prepared for *Adex*. In particular two papers dealing with committee work and decision making were, with the agreement of the Staff Training College, incorporated with a minimum of adaptation as chapters in *The Adex Handbook*.

Eventually we had ready a draft handbook with chapters on the functions of an administrator, some elementary principles of management, disciplinary procedures, appointment and promotion procedures, letter and minute writing, decision making and problem solving, committee work, and finally a chapter on the all important matter of attitudes.

Some of the chapters had been in use, in duplicated form, for some time, but by January 1966 we were ready to go to press.

Then, in mid-January, came the army coup and the replacement of the civilian government by a stratocracy. The constitutional implications of this event made much of the chapter on the machinery of government irrelevant or obsolete. In addition the distinct possibility that there would be far reaching changes in the public service structure of the Federation of Nigeria made us feel that it would be unwise to print chapters on disciplinary, appointment and promotion procedures which were liable to be radically altered if, for instance, the five separate public services in Nigeria were unified.

By this time our need for *Adex* had become urgent, but it was clear we could not publish it in its original draft form. So we re-examined it and decided to divide its chapters into two categories. Some sections, concerned with general principles or basic techniques, were not greatly affected by any actual or potential constitutional or administrative changes. Other sections, based on constitutional or administrative organization and regulations, were very much affected.

It was therefore decided to go ahead with the publication of a somewhat reduced *Adex* handbook, including only those sections in the first category

which were not basically affected by actual or potential changes. The other sections would be left for the time being and possibly included in a later publication when the situation had become stabilised.

So *The Adex Handbook* was printed and published and put on general sale. We had 2,000 copies printed which, we estimated, would meet requirements for three years. However we received so many orders for the handbook both from government offices and individual civil servants that three quarters of our stock had been used up in about three months. The popularity of *Adex* has been due not to any intrinsic merit but to the fact that it did meet an obvious need in that it contained, in compact form, information and guidance not easily to be found elsewhere. A Pakistani Senior Medical Officer may be cited who said, how useful he found it to have a handbook where he could quickly find guidance on, for example, the correct forms of letters to be used in different circumstances.

Both *Maigari* and *Adex* illustrated to us how a manual, written for specific training purposes in a specific institution, could have a much wider and more general application.

Some time after *Adex* had been published the Centre began a series of Saturday morning seminars on administrative problems. These were open to all civil servants in Kaduna who wished to attend and they consisted of what might best be described as a 'performance' (or even an 'entertainment') lasting one-and-a-half to two-hours, by one or more members of the Centre's staff, on a particular theme. There was usually considerable audience participation and the topics covered included confidential staff reporting, leave and transport privileges, the plight of the inexperienced officer in an outstation who finds himself responsible for finances, office management etc.

These short sessions usually involved many hours preparation and at the end of the session participants were usually given a hand-out embodying the main points of what we had been trying to put across.

By the time we finished this series of seminars we had a collection of hand-outs on specific aspects of administrative work. We also had, in revised form, those chapters of the original draft of *The Adex Handbook*, which had been omitted from the published version, and it was decided that all these materials should be adapted for publication as a separate manual, complementary thereto.

So our third manual, which was given the rather uninspiring title of *Notes for Guidance on Government Procedures*, was compiled. This contained chapters on the machinery of government, appointments, promotion procedures, leave, passages, transport, confidential staff reporting, discipline, financial, accounting, and stores procedures. As any section of this handbook might require revision when a change in organization or regulations was introduced it was decided to print it in loose leaf form.

I am now convinced that we when first started compiling *Adex* we should have decided at the very beginning to write two separate manuals, one containing chapters on general matters, which would remain valid for a good length of time, and the other dealing with matters of a less permanent nature and which would therefore require more frequent revision and amendment.

On most of our courses for intermediate and senior civil servants we had spent from five to ten hours each week on case studies. These, of course, had to be written and this proved a major task. However between October,

1964 and June 1966 a set of twenty case studies were written and these have now been printed and published as *The Kaduna Cases*.[2] The studies, which are all based on actual events, have been designed to cover the needs of a wide range of groups from for instance, executive grade trainees to senior professional officers. They therefore cover a diversity of situations and they vary in length from short cases that can be dealt with at one session to serial studies which may take a week to work through.

The success of the case study method depends, as do virtually all training methods, on the skill of the trainer. But the trainer can be helped by providing him with notes indicating points which should emerge from a particular case study, lines of discussion which can profitably be followed etc. Such notes can help the trainer to stimulate a group so that the group itself extracts the maximum benefit from a case study. This fact made the need to prepare notes on the case studies rather urgent. Their compilation was recently completed and they too have now gone to press and they should be available shortly in booklet form as *Notes on the Kaduna Cases*.

It has been found that in addition to the assistance the notes give to an instructor before and during a case study, copies of the notes on individual cases provide a valuable handout for the participants after the case study has been dealt with and help to reinforce the lessons that have emerged from the study.

This brings to an end the account of the production of the five text books that have been prepared in the Department of Administration and Government Procedures at the S.D.C. in the past two years. They have gone some way to meeting the needs for text books which are relevant in the Nigerian context. More remains to be done, notably in the fields of accounting and finance. A start has been made on a manual on similar lines to *Maigari* dealing with finance and accounting problems.

All five books were produced at minimum cost. They were printed by rotaprint from negatives photographed from typed proofs. *Adex* and *Notes for Guidance* contain photographic illustrations. All five books have hard covers. Produced in this way and printed by a local printer who quoted extremely competitive prices it has been possible to put *The Adex Handbook* (54 pages) on sale at 1s. per copy or £2 for 50, which is approximately cost price.

The lack of suitable shorthand texts which had any real meaning for Nigerian students was tackled in the Department of Specialist Services and a booklet of shorthand passages was produced, transcribed from official reports, speeches, letters etc. all of which had a Nigerian context. This booklet is now in use in commercial schools in all parts of Nigeria. Since then a much larger project has been faced and the draft of a large manual for the teaching of typing prepared. A major educational publisher has expressed an interest in this and it is hoped that it will be published in the near future. The need for a typing manual using material relevant to government and commerce in Nigeria is obvious.

The production of texts involves a great deal of work but it is nevertheless a comparatively simple matter. The production of audio-visual aids such as

[2] Obtainable from the Director, Staff Development Centre, P.M.B. 2113, Kaduna, Nigeria, who may also be addressed concerning any of the Aids referred to in this article.

films and film strips is considerably more difficult. However a start has been made in this direction also.

Before the S.D.C. came into being the Ford Foundation provided the services of a film director, Mr. J. Franklin, who produced in Kaduna, with the collaboration of the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Establishments and Training, an instructional film on the use of the telephone. The film, *The Office Telephone* has certain shortcomings, but we have used it a great deal at the Centre and it has proved a much more effective training aid than the British films we had used up to that point, even though the British films were technically of a far higher quality. Further films, made locally, on other subjects were obviously desirable. The principle obstacle was cost. Quite apart from the salary of the film director, the costs of making *The Office Telephone* were beyond the resources of the S.D.C. Fortunately for the Staff Development Centre, generous technical and practical help was volunteered by staff members of Radio Television Kaduna. As a result a film with sound track commentary was made entitled *Office Security*. This 15 minute 16 mm. film put over to students the lessons of security of funds and breaches of information and how easily they can occur, far more effectively than any amount of lecturing. Through the invaluable aid of Radio Television Kaduna the only cost involved was the price of the film stock and the processing. Copies have been distributed to several institutions in Africa.

Film making is an ambitious matter and calls for technical skills and expensive equipment which are not available to many training establishments. The next project we tackled at the S.D.C. was, however, well within the capabilities of almost any training centre. This was a set of thirty 35 mm. colour slides with a taped commentary on the subject of *The Perfect Secretary*. The slides and commentary indicate the qualities to be desired in a good secretary and also the bad qualities to be avoided.

To obtain thirty satisfactory slides we shot usually three photographs of each subject. We used two 36 exposure and one 20 exposure cassette of Kodachrome II. The equipment used was a Topcon RS single lens reflex camera with 35 mm. and 100 mm. lenses in addition to the standard lens, a set of close up lenses and a tripod. This equipment was the personal property of the producer, so the only cost to the Centre was approximately £7 for the film (at local prices) and the small quantity of recording tape used for the commentary.

This set of slides and tape have been shown both to a gathering of commercial teachers in Nigeria and also to the delegates to a conference of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, which was held in Northern Nigeria. It was well received on both occasions and enquiries we received about the availability of copies made it clear that we would be justified to go ahead and have duplicates made in quantity. This has unfortunately been held up by recent events in Nigeria, but it is hoped that sets of the slides, complete with taped and duplicated commentary will be put on sale shortly. The price will depend on demand but will not in any case exceed a few pounds.

In this account I have not mentioned, so far, the preparation of language training materials. This is not because no materials have been prepared in this field. On the contrary a large quantity of material for English language improvement courses and a complete new Hausa course, consisting of tapes

and text books, have been produced for use in the Centre's language laboratories. But this is a specialised field and perhaps of less general interest.

The purpose of this account is not to try to impress on the reader the merits of the S.D.C. and its staff, but to make the point that it is well within the capabilities of institutions like the S.D.C. to create original training materials, suited to local needs, and when produced are likely to have a validity within a geographical area much greater than that served by the institution which created them. It is to be hoped that in the next few years a pool of such training materials will become available within developing countries, upon which all interested training institutions can draw.

The Training of Elected Councillors in Zambia

By P. L. TAYLOR[1]

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Background

Since Zambia's Independence in 1964 there have been considerable changes in the national structure of local government. The major legal innovation has been the passing of the Local Government Act 1965, which created a modern, single-tier pattern of local government throughout the country. Following upon this reconstitution of all local authorities the Minister of Local Government and Housing called for new elections, and the early months of 1966 were devoted to the registration of voters and the delimitation of wards. These preparations were successfully completed and, in September 1966, some 900 local authority councillors were elected to office on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

The problem

Some months before the elections it was recognised that the advent of a very large number of new and inexperienced councillors would pose a serious problem. At a time when unprecedented development plans were being launched it was vital that misunderstanding of government policies and of the role of the local councillor should be reduced to a minimum. Government therefore decided to tackle this problem by means of an ambitious training programme, with courses to be conducted simultaneously throughout Zambia's eight provinces during the three months' period immediately following the elections. What was needed was a scheme that, within a very limited period of time, would impart the essentials of council procedure, an outline of local authority functions and finance, and the main objectives of the national development plan. As the training was designed to set new councillors on the right path at the very outset of their term of office the training sessions were called "orientation courses". This terminology proved fully acceptable to those councillors who might have objected to "training" as such.

Planning

The detailed planning for the programme was condensed into a period of two months prior to the elections, and the courses started less than a month after polling day. Two different programmes were drafted, for courses lasting three days and ten days respectively. The ten day programme was for rural councillors, very few of whom are in employment, and who in any

[1] Mr. Taylor also contributed an article entitled "Local Government Training in Zambia" published in this Journal (Vol. V, No. 1, January 1966).

case need to know about a wider range of developmental activities than do their urban counterparts. The shorter course was designed as a study weekend for urban councillors, the majority of whom are employed and who therefore cannot spare time to attend a longer course. Details of the short course are to be found as an appendix to this article.

Preparations

Having agreed on the outline of the two prototype courses, a small group of training officers within the ministry prepared material that formed the basis both of lecture material and of a simple *Councillors' Handbook*. The latter, together with *Model Standing Orders*, was printed for distribution to all councillors, whilst the former was issued to field officers of the ministry when they were called in for a short course on training techniques. This special training session lasted less than a week and involved study of the prepared material, a discussion of methods, and a considerable amount of practice teaching and self-criticism by the field officers themselves. A specially prepared "human relations" filmstrip was shown, and various forms of visual aid were demonstrated.

Press and radio publicity was released in good time, and a personal letter from the Minister to each elected councillor was drafted and duplicated prior to the elections. This letter was then addressed and delivered to councillors immediately after the ballot, simultaneously congratulating the successful candidates and calling them to attend the forthcoming orientation courses. Meanwhile a 16mm sound film, carrying personal messages to elected councillors from the President of the Republic and from the Minister of Local Government, was made for screening at every course.

Rural Courses

In each province the Department of Community Development operates a residential Provincial Development Centre, and it was on these centres that the rural councillor training programme was based. Separate courses were held for each of the thirty four rural councils in the country, with the aim of not only imparting knowledge to individual councillors but also building up a sense of cohesion in each new council. The minister launched the programme by paying a flying visit to each province and addressing the inaugural course in each case. These visits set the training off to a very good start which was exploited to the full by the hard work of the ministry's provincial officers, who accepted with enthusiasm the arduous training duties thrust upon them. Between them they provided some two thousand hours of instruction within a period of three months, in addition to their normal duties as inspectors and advisers of local authorities within their jurisdiction. Without their efforts this training programme could never have been undertaken.

Urban Courses

The training of urban councillors was a numerically smaller task, and as many of the councils are quite small it was practicable to combine several councils in one course, and to limit the number of courses to six in all. Accommodation ranged from the borrowed facilities of a mine mess to the spacious rooms of an ecumenical conference centre, and the urban councillors applied themselves well to the intensive instruction given on the shorter type of course. The instruction was mainly given by chief officers of the

large municipalities, assisted by experienced councillors and aldermen. With the urban councillors a more sophisticated level of discussion was maintained that was possible with the majority of rural councillors and although the very short period of time available was a limiting factor the courses covered a great deal of useful ground.

Evaluation

A feature of the courses was a very high percentage attendance recorded, and the receptive attitude of the participants. There was a real desire to learn, and a marked improvement in the transaction of council business at meetings immediately following the orientation courses. This short-term effect is gratifying, but it is much more difficult to assess the long-term effects of the programme. At the time of writing (March 1967) it is still too early to make a valid assessment of the real effectiveness of the courses. The cash cost of the training was in the region of £10,000 and the amount of time and effort involved was also very high; but the consensus of opinion is that the project was well worth while. The courses have not stopped councillors making mistakes, but they have provided a solid framework of principles on which the new councils can build.

ORIENTATION COURSE FOR URBAN COUNCILLORS

		Model Programme
Thursday	5.30 p.m.	Arrival at course centre. Registration and division into "committee" groups.
	6.30 p.m.	Supper.
	7.15 p.m.	Opening address (by Minister where possible): LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ZAMBIA TODAY.
Friday	8.00 a.m.	WHAT DOES A COUNCIL DO FOR ITS PEOPLE? (An outline of local government functions and services*)
	10.00 a.m.	Tea.
	10.30 a.m.	HOW DOES A COUNCIL DO ITS WORK? (The policy-making and executive aspects of a local authority*)
	12.45 p.m.	Lunch.
	2.00 p.m.	WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM? (An outline of local government finance*)
	4.00 p.m.	Tea.
	4.30 p.m.	HOW IS THE MONEY SPENT? (A continuation of the previous subject*)
	6.00 p.m.	Break.
	6.30 p.m.	Supper.
	7.15 p.m.	WHAT ARE THE RESPECTIVE TASKS OF COUNCILLORS AND OFFICIALS? (A discussion of the relationship between councillors and officials, introduced by a filmstrip).

Saturday	8.00 a.m.	WHY ARE THERE COMMITTEES AND HOW DO THEY WORK? (An outline of the committee system*).
	10.00 a.m.	Tea.
	10.30 a.m.	MOCK COMMITTEE MEETINGS (Group activity, working out live issues 'in committee')
	12.45 p.m.	Lunch.
	2.00 p.m.	HOW IS BUSINESS DEALT WITH IN A COUNCIL MEETING? (An outline of council procedure and standing orders*).
	4.00 p.m.	Tea.
	4.30 p.m.	MOCK COUNCIL MEETING (to demonstrate basic procedures, and manner of conducting a meeting).
	6.00 p.m.	Break.
	6.30 p.m.	Supper.
	7.15 p.m.	Period in reserve, for use as is considered appropriate during the course.
Sunday	8.00 a.m.	HOW DOES A COUNCILLOR MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THE PEOPLE? (The problem of relations with the electorate, and dealing with complaints*).
	10.00 a.m.	Tea.
	10.30 a.m.	COUNCILLORS' PROBLEMS (A concluding "question time" session, ranging over all outstanding problems, followed by the film "A message to Local Authority Councillors" featuring the President and the Minister of Local Government).
	12.45 p.m.	Lunch and dispersal.

*An address of approximately 20 minutes, followed by 'committee' discussion of prepared topics.

Co-ordinating Development: the Administrative Officer and the Technical Officer in Northern Nigeria

By OLATUNJI OYINLOYE

Mr. Oyinloye is a lecturer at the Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

SINCE the institution of the administrative officer was established in Nigeria by Lord Lugard in the early twentieth century, there has existed the question as to what kind of relationship should exist between the administrative officer and the technical officer.

During the colonial era, the initial pre-occupation of the administrative officer was the maintenance of law and order but his activities also covered every aspect of life in his area of jurisdiction, including functions for which the technical officers were directly responsible – building of roads, public buildings, education, health, trade, customs and excise, agriculture and veterinary. We have heard much about the district officers collecting taxes.

It is pertinent to mention here that initially the administrative officers performed most of these functions due to the shortage of technical officers. As more and more technical officers became available the administrative officers had to relinquish their jurisdiction in specific spheres.

Lugard laid down the principle which then formed the basis of the relationship between administrative officers and technical officers; that the administrative officer should be the head, co-ordinating all activities in his area of jurisdicition. He insisted that under no circumstances should a technical officer initiate or carry out a scheme without obtaining the consent of the native authority through the district officer. This arrangement, which made the technical officers subordinate to the administrative officers, was naturally resented by the former.

The arguments advanced in support of the principle were:

(*a*) that the support of the people, a necessary pre-requisite for the success of any development programme, could only be obtained through the N.A. The channel of communication between the departmental officers and the N.A. should be the district officer who knew more about the people and how to deal with them;

(*b*) that it was necessary to have a single channel of communication with the N.A. by the Government. If each departmental officer was left to deal directly with the N.A., conflicting instructions or advice might be given, the N.A. would be confused and the government schemes would be badly organised;

(*c*) that it was necessary to have a captain among the team of government officers in a locality to co-ordinate government and N.A. development activities;

(*d*) Margery Perham also advanced the argument that the views of technical officers were narrow and they usually did not view developments from the total aspects of the life of the community with which they were dealing. The administrative officer was much closer to the people and he understood their needs.

"To-day in every province the administrative officer finds himself working with a number of experts who have taken over the technical work and greatly increased it. There is a danger that these experts, with their scientific rather than humanistic training and their concentration upon rapid advance in one aspect of native life, may, with the best will in the world, confuse the native people, who look for clear and unified leadership, and so upset the balance of their progress."[1]

Sir Arthur Richards in a speech to the Legislative Council, Lagos, on 5th March, in 1945, reiterated the policy of Lugard. He deplored what he called "a growing tendency towards departmentalism and the emergence of insulated departmental autocracies" and asserted that "at each level of the Administration, the administrative officer in charge, whether it be chief commissioner or the Resident or the district officer, must be regarded as the captain of a team which works together for the benefit of the people and the progress of the country, and as such, he must be in a position to co-ordinate efforts without, of course, in any way interferring with the technical achievement of an accepted purpose".[2] In spite of these directives there has always existed the problem of co-ordination of government activities at the local level.

Two very important developments have since taken place which had an impact on the situation. First, the constitutional change to a ministerial form of government and the subsequent creation of the Ministry of Local Government in 1952, resulted in an increase in the powers of each department and the reliance on them by their field officers rather than the local administrative officer, for advice and direction. Hitherto, the civil secretary and the financial secretary, both working directly under the governor, controlled between them, the affairs of the native authorities. The administrative officers as part and parcel of these offices had more influence than departmental officers on local administrative matters than they would have with the Ministry of Local Government on behalf of which they now work but to which their attachment is only slightly stronger than that of the technical officers. Administrative officers remain under the direct control of the head of the government.

The resentment of technical officers was demonstrated when the ministerial system of government was introduced. A number of technical officers who resented the impostion of administrative officers as departmental heads resigned their appointments. The government has had to bend a little in this respect and technical officers have been appointed as administrative heads of a number of ministries – Information, Health, Agriculture, Justice, and Animal and Forest Resources. This has also strengthened the position of technical officers in the field who now rely heavily on the support of their counterparts in Kaduna rather than on that of an administrative officer in the field. Lastly, the Ministry of Local Government which has no agents in

[1] Southern Provinces, *Sessional Paper No.* 2 *of* 1945, Government Printer, Lagos
[2] Margery Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*: London Oxford University Press, 1937.

the field allows technical officers to deal direct with native authorities on matters which come within the jurisdiction of these officers. This weakens the position of administrative officers whose advice or direction needs no longer to be sought for this purpose.

Secondly, the relative short experience and professional or academic qualifications of administrative officers, following the rapid northernisation of the administrative service, as compared with the field technical officers, have weakened the position of the administrative officer as a powerful force of co-ordination and as a respected captain capable of leading a team. The question is: why should an experienced and qualified technical officer depend on a junior administrative officer for taking decisions on a matter which concerns his department? How can he feel a keen sense of interest in his work or hope to achieve the best results if he has to rely on decisions heavily influenced by a man who has no expertise in his own particular field?

With this background we can now examine the existing machinery for development and see how it provides for effective co-ordination of development programmes.

We will confine ourselves to developments at the local level – that is, developments initiated at the local level or those initiated at headquarters but carried out at the local level – for this is the area where the question of co-ordination presents a great problem between administrative officers and technical officers.

The development programmes are formulated in a number of ways. First, is the annual budget of the various branches of the government – the N.A., and the regional government, each of which has an impact at the local government level. Secondly, are the long term development plans at the various levels of government and, lastly foreign aids for specific projects.

In every case the administrative officer and the technical officer work in co-operation; what is absent is a recognized body consisting of the various agents involved in the development programmes, working together as a team to prepare, execute and review the programmes at the local level.

The N.A. annual budget is prepared by various N.A. departmental heads usually in consultation with the government technical officers. The budget as a whole is then passed on to the divisional officer for comments and onward transmission to the Ministry of Local Government through the provincial secretary. The same procedure applies to the development plans. The divisional officer is not bound to hold consultations with the technical officers before passing the budgetary documents or plans to the ministry. In other words, there is an absence of a body which considers the plan as a whole at the local level. The only body that looks at the overall plans is the native authority council, to the meetings of which government technical advisers are invited, if necessary, to participate in the discussions, purposely to clarify technical issues.

The regional government as well as foreign aid programmes are formulated at headquarters, usually in consultation with the local technical officer. It is the execution side of it that is the main concern of the local technical government officers. The administrative officer has little or nothing to do with it. In other words, there is no provision for co-ordination of regional government and N.A. development plans between the local administrative officer and the technical officer. The same applies to foreign aid.

As a rule there are consulations between the heads of the various ministries involved at headquarters, but the men on the spot have no venue for joint decisions. An example is the high powered Mambilla Development Advisory Committee which is based at headquarters. It consists of the heads of the various ministries involved in the development of the Mambilla but it has no counterpart in the province.

Co-ordination of development plans between the administrative and the technical officer is made difficult by the following factors:

(*a*) the absence of any recognized formal body at the local level to co-ordinate planning, execution and review of development programmes.

(b) the tendency by heads of ministries to draw development programmes after consultations with the local representatives of their ministries only. This encourages separatist tendencies among the local ministry heads;

(*c*) the narrow professional views of technical officers and, their resistence to any encroachment by administrative officers on their areas of jurisdiction;

(*d*) the absence of agents of the Ministry of Local Government in the provinces and its reliance on agents of other ministries to help it plan and execute N.A. programmes;

(*e*) the relative inexperience and limited expertise of administrative officers which results in the reluctance of technical officers to submit to their authority.

There is, notwithstanding (c) *supra*, a high degree of co-operation and consultation between the local administrative officer and the technical officer, but this depends on (*i*) the *espirit de corps* fostered among a small group of elites in a small or remote area; (*ii*) personal qualities of the individual officers concerned. What is required is a formal organization with the administrative officer as the head to co-ordinate development.

We suggest that the administrative officer, in spite of his shortcomings, should regain his position as the captain of the team in his area, not only because there is need for co-ordination but because of his status and prestige, built up over the years by tradition and usage. The administrative officer is not only the representative of the Ministry of Local Government but that of the head of the service and the government.

Development and the Institute of Development Studies

by PAUL STREETEN

Professor Streeten is Deputy Director, Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

Development

Sometime ago *The Times*, without an inkling of irony, carried the headline: "Stagnation in Developing Countries". The majority of the 'developing' countries, comprising the poorest two-thirds of mankind, have failed to develop by their own standards and by those of the Development Decade.

There are a number of reasons why the record of the Development Decade, after a good start in the Fifties, has been so disappointing. First, the prices of many commodities, on whose exports less developed countries depend, have declined. Second, the prices of their manufactured imports have tended to rise. Third, the burden of debt has greatly increased and interest payments and repayments of capital now absorb large and growing proportions of productive investment and export earnings. Fourth, the percentage of the national income which the advanced countries give in the form of aid has declined. Fifth, and most important, rapid and accelerating population growth has swallowed up a large part of the growth of their production. Had it not been for these factors, development, measured in terms of aggregate rates of growth of income per head, would have been modest but respectable. But development cannot be judged by such a crude aggregate index. It is a more complex process. It means more than stepping up growth rates of national income. It means transforming traditional into modern societies. It means changing human beings. Such transformation need not and should not be in the image of western man. New methods, new institutions and new relationships will have to be evolved which will combine the best features of the variety of existing cultures with the reforms needed to promote development.

Few countries have so far successfully tackled this task. We have done relatively little research into how this change can be brought about or accelerated and the research which has been done has been rather small-scale and fragmented.

Not only research, but also training has been neglected. Although we in Britain now spend some £200m. per year on aid and between 15 and 20 per cent. of this on technical assistance, we have given little systematic professional training to the men who administer and manage the aid, both in this country and overseas. In other countries, particularly in the U.S.A., more has been done, but much of it was guided by different objectives from those pursued by us and some of it by doctrines derived from U.S. experience which paid little attention to the utterly different conditions and needs of other regions.

The need for training in this field is enormous. What are most needed are managers and administrators who can view development as a complex process of many inter-related variables and who can use specialists, while remaining aware of the limitations of specialist techniques. The danger of specialised training and of the work of the U.N. Specialised Agencies is the growth of technocracy: the dominance of experts divorced from the cultural, social and political setting in which the mechanical relations studied operate. We have heard many complaints about the tying of aid and we have followed controversies on the respective merits of project and programme aid and of bilateral and multilateral aid. But more important than the complaints arising from these controversies, and rather less emphasised in the discussions, has been the absence of trained, sociologically sensitive cadres of planners, managers and administrators.

There has been some progress on a wide front. The Centre for Administrative Studies at Regent's Park is training British civil servants in economics and statistics. The setting up of the Social Science Research Council, the introduction of social scientists into Whitehall and, in particular, of the Economic Planning Staff in the Ministry of Overseas Development have contributed to a greater emphasis on research, to a more professional approach, and to greater awareness of the need for training. The proposals for a Home Base and a Corps of Specialists announced in the White Paper *Overseas Development: The Work of the New Ministry* (Cmnd. 2736, August, 1965 para. 143-147) are signposts of progress.

The Institute of Development Studies

The same White Paper announced the establishment of an Institute of Development Studies for research and training on the campus of the University of Sussex. The Institute, established in 1966, brings together scholars in different branches of the social studies and men with practical experience in less developed countries. The criteria by which participation will be judged will not be dictated by allegiance to the conventional academic disciplines but by the problems raised by development. This implies that workers in different fields will collaborate. This approach becomes inevitable once one understands that development is a social process in which many forms of behaviour interact and react upon one another. If economists have a contribution to make it is not so much, and certainly not only, the substance of conventional economic theory or its Western-bound concepts, but rather their method of embracing a number of functional relationships in a general analytical system.

We know very little about the impact of population policy, education, medical expenditure, nutrition, industrialization, trade union activities or private enterprise on people and the policy makers are often left without guide to their most important decisions. The problems transcend those traditionally treated by the economist. They can be solved only by collaboration between economists, statisticians, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists and students of administration and business management, as well as agriculturalists, doctors, engineers and other scientists.

In order to help, we must understand. This understanding requires breaking down existing barriers between established fields of study, between analysts and practitioners and between citizens of different nations. We,

therefore, attempt to bring together at the Institute from all parts of the world scholars from different disciplines and practical men from different fields of activity. At the same time, problems requiring detailed local knowledge will be studied at regional seminars overseas, in which training, research and long-term support of the planning efforts will be closely integrated.

In these ways, we hope to bring to bear all relevant considerations on the solutions of specific problems and to contribute to the concerted attack, which alone can defeat world poverty.

Research

It is often said that there is no lack of knowledge as to how to develop, only a lack of will to apply it. This view combines two deepseated nineteenth century biases. One consists in the abstraction of economic theorising from scientific innovation and from technical progress. In its nineteenth century guise the assumption is that the "state of the arts" is constant; in its twentieth century guise that a simple transfer of existing technologies to underdeveloped societies is possible. The other ideological element is to put all the blame on the inability or unwillingness of the people in underdeveloped countries to make use of existing facilities. This comes near to the prejudice about the "ignorant and idle native". But to anyone who has worked in this field, it is clear that the adaptation of existing knowledge to the completely different physical and social needs and conditions of less developed countries requires creative and imaginative innovation comparable to new discovery. The adaptation of a spade to its use by bare-foot diggers requires ingenuity. It is not enough to add a simple wooden platform to the top of the spade, for it would only attract earth. The same is true of more complicated production processes and institutions like trade unions or management structures which depend, for their proper functioning, on a complex system of physical and social relationships.

In any case, if these methods were freely available, why do people not adopt them to improve their lot? If we do not know the answer, this ignorance constitutes a major challenge to social scientists and it is absurd to say that all that needs to be known is already known. Research is therefore central to the Institute's activities.

Research can also make an important contribution to the improvement of decision-taking. This is best done by tackling specific problems. The Institute is building up teams comprising economists, sociologists, technologists, public administrators and others to advise on such issues as regional development programmes, food supply and nutrition policies, educational planning and employment policy, etc. In this way we can help the developing countries and at the same time contribute to the formulation of better methods of policy-making. The regional seminars to be held overseas will collect and catalogue the experience gathered.

Teaching, Training and Education

Relevant and realistic research into problems of development is one of the needs which the Institute will meet; the other is education, training and an exchange of ideas between academics and practical men, officials and business men, "developed" and "developing" administrators. One of the best ways of making aid more effective is to have it administered and managed by an adequate number of suitably trained men. More fundamentally, one of the

most valuable contributions to development is to help developing countries overcome their shortage of skills and to develop fully their own human resources.

The value to the recipient of this form of technical assistance and training greatly exceeds its cost to us, for it enables a country to mobilise its own resources to an extent worth a multiple of the cost of the service. The need of the less developed countries to plan is much greater than ours, while their ability to do so is much less. Therefore, the highest priority must be given to training to make capital aid and technical assistance more effective. It is the best way of extending the limits of "absorptive capacity".

In its seminars of advanced study, the Institute hopes to build up a cadre of men, both from this country and from overseas, who will understand the technical aspects of development but be aware of the dangers of technocracy. Senior administrators from developing countries will compare their own experience with that of others. They will be able to sit back from their daily routine and to relate their activities to those of others and to more general principles. The first seminar was devoted to a study of aid and trade; the second to problems of rural development and the third to population policy. Later seminars will be on manpower and education, plan implementation and finance.

The view that administrators and planners require not so much more information but a new attitude is now commonplace, but nevertheless true, insofar as it points to the need for mental alertness and willingness to try out new ideas and policies against the heavy pull of habit, tradition, and inertia. If this is to be obtained at all, it will be by a sort of "shock effect", by means of a strenuous and exciting experience. A group of men and women, taken from their ordinary routine, gather in Sussex. They spend some time in wholly different and attractive surroundings, in new company, and under the stress and pressure of new ideas. The change has produced hard work, enthusiasm, excitement, and responsiveness to ideas.

In addition to study seminars, we have conducted and are planning a variety of other activities, such as participation in the University's graduate programme, joint seminars with officials from the Ministry of Overseas Development to discuss aspects of development policy, a series of two-week seminars for British civil servants administering aid and joint academic seminars with University of Sussex faculty members and graduates in which we discuss our own research. We are also holding brief conferences to discuss particular problems. The first of them considered the role of science and technology in development; the second was devoted to an intensive study of the Indian Fourth Plan. We talked frankly, critically and constructively about India's problems with some of India's most distinguished civil servants, and the result will be published next year.

Documentation

The Institute's library is building up a collection of publications from governments and official bodies and from national and international agencies working on development. It has recently been given depository library status for U.N. publications and is purchasing copies of U.N. material from 1946 on microcard.

In addition to being a working collection for our seminars, the Library should become an important documentation centre for workers on the various

aspects of social and economic development, both at the Institute and elsewhere. Miss U. M. Nottage, who has considerable experience of keeping official publications at the London School of Economics Library, is the Librarian of the Institute.

Work in Progress

Mr. Dudley Seers joined the Institute as Director in August. He brings with him wide experience of Africa and Latin-America, as well as of British aid and development policy. I have been Acting Director since October, 1966 in Mr. Sears' absence, and have been working on problems of aid, trade, private investment, and international monetary reform.

Mr. Symonds is studying international organisations. Mr. J. L. Joy is Fellow in Agricultural Development and is working on two fields which will contribute to development, through a transformation of the rural sector, namely irrigation and nutrition. Professor C. T. Leys is Fellow in Politics and Administration. Dr. B. B. Schaffer and Mr. M. Lipton are part-time Fellows, holding appointments also in the University, working on Development Administration and Development Economics respectively. Mr. Martin Staniland is a Fellow in Political Science. Other Fellows who will take up appointments later on include Dr. A. R. Jolly in Manpower and Education Planning, and Mr. A. D. Lehmann in Sociology. The Institute will have two "home-base" Fellows in East Africa, namely Dr. B. Van Arkadie and Mr. D. Feldman—both of them are economists. Their work will keep them in the field for most of the time, but they plan to spend their vacations in the Institute, and to maintain close links with it. Institute staff is supervising graduate students in development studies at the University. This is just one of the ways in which the Institute works closely with the University of Sussex. Another important link is that of joint appointments.

An important feature of the Institute's programme is to provide facilities for research into development problems, and already several Visiting Fellows have been working at the Institute. Mr. H. E. Caustin, who has been appointed a part-time Visiting Fellow, was a senior official in the United Nations and is now working on the study of the limits of technical assistance. Mr. D. J. Shaw, who has come to us from the University of Khartoum, has been working on aspects of agricultural development in the Sudan, with particular reference to the Gezira Scheme. He is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Mr. Godfrey Lardner has taken time off from his work with the Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa to write about the syllabuses of Universities teaching economics in Africa. Mr. Hamza Alavi has studied business enterprise and public policy in Pakistan. In the coming academic year, we expect visits from Dr. Osvaldo Sunkel, Professor G. M. Meier and Professor Raymond Apthorpe. We shall continue to invite visiting fellows to assemble their ideas and distill their experience for the benefit of others.

The Institute maintains a cadre of four research assistants, whose work relates closely to senior staff viz. development economics, international organisations, agricultural economics and political science.

The Future

The Institute does not supplant activities already going on in other universities and other institutions. It seeks to co-operate with and support

those activities. The conference on the Indian Fourth Plan, organised jointly with Chatham House and the University of Sussex, was an illustration of effective co-operation. We hope to collaborate again with Chatham House and the Overseas Development Institute on preparing the ground for the second UNCTAD. While O.D.I. educates intelligent public opinion, spreads information and keeps the urgency of the problems of development before the public, the Institute attempts to carry out fundamental research and to provide facilities for advanced study.

The Institute also draws on the experience of people who have lived and worked in developing countries and thereby harnesses some of the valuable knowledge of ex-colonial civil servants, consulting firms, missionaries, experts and teachers who have worked overseas. It provides a home base for specialists ready to spend much of their time overseas. It will be closely associated with research conducted overseas. It will attempt to strengthen planning units in less developed countries by sending out staff, by training and by inviting planners from overseas to spend some time here.

Research and training, at the most advanced level, do not compete but complement each other. Contact with experienced administrators and working in planning offices overseas will make research relevant and realistic, while independent research by the Fellows makes the seminars vivid and up-to-date.

In view of the size and urgency of the gigantic tasks sketched above, it may well be asked whether such a small Institute can leave any mark. The Bridges Report, (Report of the Committee on Training in Public Administration for Overseas Countries) Dr. Ian Little in his booklet on *Aid to Africa*, and indeed all experts who have studied the need for research and training, have recommended a much bigger Institute.

Economists are the first to realise that resources are limited. The priorities of public policy are still such that we are not yet ready to devote as many of these limited resources to the most crying needs as they clearly deserve. But we hope that evidence of success will attract support and that growth will be the reward for efficiency.

Quarterly Notes

BRITAIN – *Parliamentary Commissioner*

In August 1966 the British Government decided to appoint an Ombudsman to be known as the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration. His functions and scope are to investigate complaints referred to him by M.P.s from members of the public who claim to have sustained injustice arising from the maladministration of government departments. *Excluded* are police matters, government contracts, hospitals and personnel questions in the armed forces and the civil service, actions taken by local authorities and nationalised industries. Only exceptionally will the PCA investigate grievances for which there are alternative remedies before tribunals or courts of law.

Source and Form of Complaints

The right to complain extends both to individuals and to bodies of persons' provided these are not local authorities, nationalized industries, or appointed by the Crown or the Government, or financed wholly or mainly from public funds. Generally speaking, a complaint must be made personally by the individual or body concerned in writing, normally within 12 months of the time at which the alleged injustice took place; exceptions may be allowed, however, if the complainant dies or is unable, for some other reason, to act for himself. Complainants must be resident in the United Kingdom or have been present there when the action complained of took place, or their complaint must relate to rights and obligations accruing in the United Kingdom.

Investigation Procedure

Investigation proceedings will be held in private, but the PCA has full powers to obtain information from such persons and to make such enquiries as he thinks fit. He may examine the internal papers and records of government departments and take written or oral evidence from anyone whom he considers may be able to provide relevant information, including Ministers and civil servants. He may also contact the complainant or other people concerned in the case.

The results of an investigation will be reported to the Member of Parliament who raised the grievance. The PCA will also make an annual report to Parliament (and such interim reports as he thinks fit) on his work, and special reports on cases of maladministration where it appears to him that the injustice has not been or will not be remedied. For the purposes of the law of defamation, absolute privilege extends to PCA reports, which will be dealt with by a House of Commons Select Committee.

Relations with the Public

The PCA will not accept enquiries from the Press or the public about particular cases, but he will answer general enquiries about his *prima facie* jurisdiction, for instance whether a particular government department or particular type of action by a government department is within his scope.

INTERNATIONAL – *United Nations Programme in Public Administration*
In January 1967 a meeting of experts on the U.N. Programme in Public Administration was held in New York, with Mr. A. L. Adu as Chairman. Among suggestions and recommendations made were:

(*a*) that the activities of the Public Administration Branch be geared to the establishment and strengthening of country institutions from which maximum results can be expected. It is also proposed that the role of regional advisers in public administration be substantially strengthened and that the dissemination of information relating to administrative reform be enlarged.

(*b*) that a comparative study of the administrative aspects of development planning and plan implementation be undertaken.

(*c*) (activities and subjects for future consideration)

(i) preparation of a catalogue of tested personnel practices and techniques that would be useful to developing countries.

(ii) study of problems of recruitment, training and conditions of employment of scientists and other technical personnel.

(iii) arranging for the exchange and use of documentation, such as manuals and publications, and curricula that have been found useful.

(iv) a study of the role of tenure in connection with the efficiency and productivity in public service.

(v) the possibilities of broadening the concept of a civil service corps, particularly by the use of contracts and other arrangements to facilitate the movement of personnel between the public and private sector and between the national services and international organizations.

(vi) increasing the recognition of the problem of integrity in the public service.

(vii) the need for projecting public personnel requirements on a medium and long-range basis.

(viii) the need for fostering the professionalization of practitioners within the public service.

(*d*) that countries should produce forecasts of the numbers of personnel to be trained and upgraded over a period of years.

(*e*) that an international staff college be developed for training senior officers.

(*f*) that further assistance be offered to developing countries in connection with decentralization and local government.

INTERNATIONAL – *Local Government*
The Education and Cultural Committee of the International Union of Local Authorities held a Seminar at Gauting, Germany, in 1965 to consider a survey of the role of local authorities in extending an interest in cultural matters. In the report on the Seminar, now published, the conclusions and recommendations cover:

(1) the need to include science, architecture, the planned physical environment of man in town and country, and sport, within the definition of culture to be encouraged by local authorities.

(2) the importance for local authorities to increase the attention and the amount of expenditure devoted to services other than those meeting material needs, and to regard the promotion of culture as a major function.

(3) the need for local authorities to ensure adequate buildings for local cultural groups, besides libraries, museums etc.

(4) the need, where presently lacking, for local authorities to be given a legal basis to facilitate cultural services and to acquire the necessary funds.

(5) the need for local authorities to be patrons of the arts, to seek expert advice and to exercise catholicity in taste.

(6) the need to facilitate the efforts of voluntary bodies in the cultural field.

(7) the need for Central Government to help local authorities with least resources to meet their cultural needs, for co-ordination between central and local cultural authorities and for urban authorities to offer more assistance to neighbouring rural communities.

(8) the need for more international exchanges of cultural work between authorities. Suggested here that U.N.E.S.C.O. might assist such projects.

COMMONWEALTH - *Conference on Public Administration, Delhi, January, 1967.*

The International Institute of Administrative Sciences and the Institutes in West, East, Central and Southern Africa were represented together with Malaysia, Jamaica, Ireland, India and Britain. The conference was chaired by Dr. Deshmuk, Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University. The Commonwealth Foundation assisted with the travel expenses of certain participants at what emerged as an interesting and useful conference. The subjects of the main papers considered were:—

1. *Development Administration*

A West African participant made the suggestion that 'development administrators' should be trained as a separate cadre to generalist administrators in order to meet the immediate short-term requirements of developing countries. A counter proposal from India was that development administration called for 'groups' of civil servants specially selected to deal with specific problems. The need for administrators to be trained to take into account the role of the politician in relation to development administration received particular attention.

2. *Education and Training for Development*

Discussion on this subject demonstrated the wide range of training institutions in the Commonwealth bearing the general title 'Institute'. These institutions vary from a sophisticated organization such as the Indian Institute to newcomers which have only reached the stage of providing short-term practical training. It was generally agreed that more attention should be paid to ensuring that training is directly related to the administrative problems of developing countries.

The necessity to develop training programmes locally was underlined and the need for teaching and research expertise to be made available to institutes in the Commonwealth, on a short-term basis, by Britain and other more advanced members of the Commonwealth was emphasized. It was stressed that the need is to train administrators both as agents for the implementation of development programmes as well as to carry out traditional administrative functions.

3. *Research and Consultancy*

It was generally accepted that consultancy can only be undertaken by Institutes which have adequate staff resources and an established programme of research work. The need for external expertise to help to develop research was stressed though the point was made that research must be directed locally, and not by the organization providing the external research personnel.

External assistance was needed in three main fields:—

(i) To undertake the production of teaching and training material.

(ii) To help devise and carry out programmes of research.

(iii) To train, on the job, local personnel to carry out (i) and (ii) above.

A common difficulty of Institutes which was noted is their inability to release staff to undertake even the most mundane collection of material for training purposes. It was suggested that external staff, who could help to carry the teaching load while local staff are engaged on such work, would be invaluable in this context. It was suggested that the Commonwealth Foundation might be approached to assist with finance for visits between public Administration experts of different Commonwealth countries.

4. *Role of Institutes: (a) in Universities (b) Government Sponsored and (c) Autonomous*

The main paper sounded a warning against the assumption that the object should be to incorporate an Institute of Administration within a University. At the same time the shortcomings of an Institute operating on its own were noted. The ideal solution, if this can be achieved, would seem to be an autonomous Institute situated close to the centre of government offering academically recognized courses with the assistance of a University. It is important that the Institute be free to appoint its own staff in order to ensure that its teaching has a sufficiently practical basis. The Institute should also be free to conduct operational research in order to keep itself in touch with changing circumstances in the practical field of administration.

THE PACIFIC – *Current Developments*

FIJI

Under its new compromise constitution Fiji obtains a legislature with its elected members chosen as follows: 9 Fijian, 9 Indian and 7 European members elected on communal rolls and 3: 3: 3 elected on a common roll, with two further Fijian members elected by the Council of Chiefs.

Rotumans and 'other Pacific Islanders' are placed with the Fijian on their roll, Chinese and 'others' are included on the European roll.

COOK ISLANDS

The National Assembly opted for full internal self-government in 1962 and this was introduced in 1964 when the Cook Island Party won 14 out of the 22 seats. Voting was compulsory and 94 per cent. of the electorate went to the polls. Seven of those elected were public servants. The leader of the successful party, Mr. Henry had been away from the Island, in New Zealand, and did not qualify as a candidate. This law was subsequently changed, and the lady member who resigned to make way for her leader (now premier) was chosen as Speaker (the constitution permitting an 'outsider' to be chosen for this office).

An upper house of 14 *Arikis* (traditional rank-holders) has been formed and the High Commissioner is left to exercise his functions in the normal way without having two *Arikis* to advise him as had been originally proposed.

Viability is the biggest problem facing the new Government: at present nearly 75 per cent. of Cook Island expenditure depends on subsidies from New Zealand.

PAPUA – NEW GUINEA

Those responsible for effecting constitutional development faced difficulty in finding substance for representation beyond the village group; native experience in legislative council was gained in the period 1951–63, to be followed in 1964 by the first elections under a new constitution providing for 44 single member seats with open electorates, adult suffrage with a single optional transferable vote, constituencies averaging 20,000 voters, no educational or literacy qualification for candidates; only three former members were returned. Ten 'special' (reserved) seats were provided for. This made a big change from the previous electoral college method where, in Western Papua, two candidates polled 13 votes each and the successful candidate from another part of the constituency polled one more!

Responsibility for the execution of Government policy still rests with the Central Executive (i.e. Australian Government) and while as part of the general progress made, that in local government has given, it seems, a particular lead, there remains in that sphere a considerable degree of dependence on the Asustralian adviser on the spot. The possibility of Papua – New Guinea becoming a seventh Australian State has been mooted; meantime the Papua—New Guinea majority in their new Legislative Council has prohibited card playing indicating, a straw in the wind perhaps, that all the freedoms now available are not necessarily desired or welcome.

BRITAIN – *Conference on the Laws of Ghana*

A very successful conference on "The Laws of Ghana" was held under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, Berkshire, which was made available by the Trustees of St. Catherine's Trust, during the weekend 10th March–12th March, 1967. The conference was one of a series which has been organized by the British Institute during the last few years to enable practitioners, students and others interested in the laws of the various parts of the Commonwealth to meet in informal and attractive surrounds for the

purpose of discussing the legal developments which have taken place in their own territories. Representatives of the Bench and Bar in the countries concerned and in the United Kingdom and representatives of the universities in both countries attend, but the conferences are held mainly for the benefit of Bar students and of law students, both undergraduate and postgraduate, at the universities.

The conference on the Laws of Ghana was opened on Friday the 10th March by the Hon. Mr. Justice Cross who made a short introductory speech. This was followed by a lecture by Mr. D. K. Afreh, former Dean of the Faculty of Law at Legon University, Ghana, on "Some Problems in the Law of Murder in Ghana", Mr. Justice Cross being in the Chair.

Proceedings on the second day began with a lecture by Dr. T. A. Mensah, Acting Dean of the Faculty of Law at Legon University, on "The Position and Status of Customary Law in Ghana", the Chairman being Mr. Eugene Cotran, Lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Professor A. N. Allott, Professor of African Law, School of Oriental and African Studies next gave a talk on "Internal Conflicts and Unification of Laws". The Chairman at this lecture was Mr. H. H. Marshall, Assistant Director (Commonwealth Law) of the British Institute.

In the afternoon the students travelled by motor-coach to Windsor for a sight-seeing trip. After their return Professor L. C. B. Gower, a Law Commissioner, delivered a lecture on "The Companies Code of Ghana", a measure of which he had been the draftsman. He was introduced by Mr. Justice Cross. After dinner a general discussion on all the lectures which had been delivered during the conference was conducted by Professor Allott.

Among those present, in addition to those specifically mentioned above, were Mr. S. Weinberg, Assistant Legal Adviser, British Council, Mrs. M. E. Burke, Deputy Director, Commonwealth Institute, Messrs. N. L. Hearne and G. F. Muirhead, Solicitors of the Commonwealth Development Corporation, Messrs. C. P. T. Burke and M. G. Walker, Barristers-at-Law, Mr. H. J. Hartwig, Solicitor, and Miss E. M. Green, Research Officer of the British Institute. There were present thirty-five students, nineteen of whom came from Ghana, thirteen from Nigeria, and one each from the United States of America, the Union of South Africa and Tanzania. It was a great pleasure to the Institute to welcome to the conference the wives of a number of the senior guests. Their presence greatly added to the social atmosphere and the enjoyment of the occasion.

NIGERIA – *Northern Nigeria Courts Reform*

We quote the following extract from *West Africa*, April 29th, 1967:

"Col. Hassan, military Governor of the North, speaking to Emirs and Chiefs in Kaduna about the recent reform of Native Authority Courts, has said that the North had 'now reached a stage when these reforms must be made if you as the rulers are to continue to enjoy the respect and the confidence of your subjects. If we were to shut our eyes and close our ears to the need for these reforms it is quite certain that sooner or later we would be faced with a popular uprising. It is my duty to you and to the people, having foreseen the possibility of such a situation to take steps to avert it."

"The reforms provide that from April 1, 1968, all Native Courts shall be taken over by Government to be administered as part of the Judiciary under

the Chief Justice, while Emirs' and Chiefs' Courts of Grades "A" and "A' Limited shall cease to function as from April 1st this year."

Edict No. 1 of 1967 issued by Col. Hassan has the following explanatory note:

"The main purpose of this Edict is to provide that the posts of all members and staff of any native court in the Kaduna Capital Territory shall be public offices in the public service of the Region and that such members and staff shall cease to be appointed and paid by the native authority."

KENYA – *Kadhi's Courts*

The Kenya Government has decided to retain Kadhi's Courts now established by separate legislation brought into operation simultaneously with the new Magistrates' Courts Act.

The Kadhi's Courts bill sets up six such courts with jurisdiction limited to the determination of questions of Muslim personal law in proceedings where all parties profess the Muslim religion. There are three provisos: (*a*) all witnesses shall be heard without discrimination on the grounds of religion, sex or otherwise (*b*) each issue is to be decided on credibility of evidence, not on numbers of witnesses (*c*) findings are not to be reversed on technical grounds unless a failure of justice has been occasioned. The Chief Justice is empowered to make rules of Court providing for the procedure and practice to be followed in Kadhi's Courts.

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION – *Statements worth noting*

"Development administration, which aims at applying present-day social science to the State's role or action in the development process, may be distinguished from conventional administration by the variety of its functions and by its purpose, which is to bring about a thorough change in society. It also aims at creating the general conditions of development by means of overall action, since the experience of several countries has shown that only slight success has been obtained by concentrating on a single sector, such as education, however important it might be. This has been because the power to change has been neutralized by the opposition of the environment."
(A Summarized Article by Mario Frieriro in 'Development Administration' No. 2 of September 1966, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, Brussels.)

"The growth of world population is so rapid and its consequences so serious that this may be the last generaton which has the opportunity to cope with the problem on the basis of free choice.

"Hence, it does not seem unreasonable to state that if we do not make voluntary family planning possible in this generation, we may make compulsory family planning inevitable for future generations."
(John D. Rockefeller III, Chairman, The Population Council.)

"Economic planning, if it is to be effective, must be viewed as a continuing process in which the production of a plan marks an important stage in the

process but is not its main purpose. The uncertainties are so many that no plan can remain the final word for many months. Unless there is an annual plan, a continuous process of revision of the plan, or some other means of bringing up to date a Five-Year Plan, it will very quickly be so out of date as to be irrelevant to policy making;

There must be political machinery which will ensure that new policy proposals are assessed in relation to the Plan and in terms of its basic economic priorities. There are bound to be decisions taken in defiance of these priorities, for every government will have other pressing matters to which it must attach high priority. There will also be pressure from individual ministries for the acceptance of proposals outside the Plan. But economic planning can hardly be said to occur if decisions such as these are taken without their economic costs being identified, their impact on the implementation of the Plan assessed, and other ministers being able to reaffirm the case for a primary emphasis on development;

There are certain administrative requirements for development planning – an adequate flow of information from the spending ministries, planning units in the major ministries, an adequate and professionally competent staff in the planning unit, for instance. Major administrative weaknesses in other ministries will decrease the rate of development but do not preclude effective planning. Indeed, they may make it all the more important. But such weaknesses must be anticipated by the planners and their plans must take account of them if the Plan is not to be hopelessly and discouragingly over-optimistic;

The Tanzanian experience underlines the argument that the planning unit must not be drawn into operational responsibilities. The planners should be responsible for the draft plan, for a continuing review of its adequacy, and for reporting fully to a political authority on progress being made, sector by sector and ministry by ministry, in its implementation. But they are not omnicompetent. The correction of inadequancies they uncover must lie within the ministry or ministries whose performance has disappointed; and and if ministry officials are reluctant or obstructive demands insisting on such corrections must come from a political source of unquestioned authority." (Professor Cranfield Pratt writing in the *Journal of Commonealth Political Studies*, vol. No. 1, March, 1967.)

"Administration is the capacity of co-ordinating many, and often conflicting, social energies in a single organism, so adroitly that they shall operate as a unity. This presupposes the power of recognizing a series of relations between numerous special social interests, with all of which no man can be intimately acquainted. Probably no very highly specialized class can be strong in this intellectual quality because of the intellectual isolation incident to specialization; and yet administration or generalization is not only the faculty upon which social stability rests, but is, probably, the highest faculty of the human mind."

(Brook Adams quoted by C. L. Sharma in *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4.)

"No enterprise can succeed in attaining its objectives that does not employ effective administration to its service. To a large extent, the accomplishment of goals of economic, social, political, military, or religious enterprises depends upon the application of efficient administration. Group effort is responsible for the material advancement of a society, which, in turn, is buttressed by continuous and diligent administration. Satisfaction of varied and multiplying human needs will continue to require a greater degree of group effort, which will place unprecedented demand on administration. Efficient administration contributes significantly to the success of an enterprise, and, thereby, cumulatively leads to the prosperity of a society."

(C. L. Sharma on 'Administration as a Field of Study', *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4.)

"The need for systematic analysis and treatment of the administrative causes for the gap between plans and performance is reflected in a number of reports of studies and meetings of United Nations bodies. Meetings in the public administration field have repeatedly pointed out that shortfalls in plan implementation have to a large extent been due to deficiencies in administration and that improvement of administration deserves the same priority as planning for economic and social changes. A recent meeting of development planners noted that plan implementation merited the most urgent and serious attention and recommended that all concerned with the well-being of developing countries should focus their attention on the issue of plan implementation."

"The Secretary-General has stated that 'the United Nations Development Decade must also be a decade of administrative development if its aims are to be achieved'."

"Public administration experts should be able to advise planners on the administrative implications of plan proposals, on the limits to which administrative machinery can be put in a given period, and on a strategy for investment to increase administrative capability. With respect to the latter, correlations between administrative improvement and economic and social progress and guides for fixing the amount and direction of investment in administrative improvement would be useful."

(*Extracts from Public Administration Newsletter No. 7*)

Book Reviews

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEMOCRACY: Essays in honour of Paul H. Appleby, edited by ROSCOE C. MARTIN; *Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York,* 1965, pp. 355; $7.95.

This memorable volume is a notable book about a remarkable American. It is one which students of public administration—and the more thoughtful practitioners of its crafts—will enjoy and profit from.

Paul Appleby became known between the end of the war and his death in 1963 as a stimulating teacher and writer on government and administation. During these years he published five books on broad and fundamental questions, two monographs on Indian administration, and nearly thirty articles in learned journals on a wide variety of subjects. From 1947 to 1955 he was Dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. Before taking up that influential appointment he had served for fourteen years in various posts in the Federal Government, ending as Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget. Previously he had been a newspaperman for nearly twenty years. When he left the Maxwell Graduate School in 1955, it was to become Director of the Budget of the State of New York.

The book which has been published in his honour is edited by Roscoe C. Martin, Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University, who contributes the opening essay on *Paul H. Appleby and his Administrative World.* Two of the chapters are culled from Appleby's own writings, but the main body of the book consists of essays by more than a dozen leading American scholars in politics and public administration, grouped under five headings reflective of Appleby's own main interests. Each of these essays draws its inspiration from an area of work in which Appleby was particularly active or from an idea he had stressed in his writing. On occasion an essay begins with an Appleby pronouncement, as a sermon starts with a text, and the author, like the preacher draws inspiration from it and is moved to develop the thoughts and precepts which it provokes and can be made to offer up. Thus Emmette S. Redford, in his essay on *Business as Government,* makes his starting point this quotation from Appleby's first book, *Big Democracy*—'the dissimilarity between government and all other forms of social action is greater than any dissimilarity among those other forms themselves.' Lynton K. Caldwell, for his contribution on *Conjunctures on Comparative Public Administration,* draws the following passage from Appleby's 1953 Report of a Survey on *Public Administration in India.*

> 'Probably no practice—certainly none of any importance—can ever be directly copied from one government and simply applied to another. There is value in comparisions, but the value is in stimulating some development which had nowhere before existed in precisely the same form or manner.'

That so many eminent and busy men should have been willing to contribute the thoughtful and stimulating essays which make up this symposium emphasises very strongly the affection and esteem in which they held the man to whom they pay tribute.

Appleby's main characteristic was the broad interpretation he gave to questions of government and administration. He recognised that 'government is politics,' that in the modern world we have to learn to operate large institutions effectively, and that part of that process lies in keeping such institutions responsive to democratic pressures. Not that he underestimated the difficulties in doing this. 'In a democracy,' he wrote '*everybody's* business quite properly takes precedence over *anybody's* business. This is confusing, because *anybody* knows *anybody's* business and *nobody* can really understand *everybody's* business.' He went on:

> "Democratic government gives consideration to anybody, but defers to everybody. The process of giving consideration to anybody and letting the balance fall in favour of everybody is not carried on with mirrors—or with calculating machines. It is carried on through politics and political institutions. It involves heartaches as well as headaches for all who share in governmental responsibilities."

Appleby was interested not only in the philosophical aspects of government. He was, after all, a practising administrator for a good part of his working life. It is significant that in describing the character and capacities of the ideal administrator, he does so in a section headed *Requisites for Democratic Administration* (pp. 340-343). He lists twelve particular administrative capacities to which he attaches importance—but prefaces them with the remark that to see all twelve in one person would be to see someone more than a good administrator—a superman, or a man long dead. In his summing up he says:

> "Top-level administrators are generalists. The best ones in government service closely approach the politicians in ability to weigh forces, sentiments and demands. They somehow especially 'understand the country,' or large parts of it; such understanding, indeed, is the crucial essential to superior public administration. They, better than anyone else, understand the politicians. They understand experts, too."

Does this view sound antiquated to modern ears? Will the Fulton Committee regard it as anathema? Or does it just happen to be true?

During the last ten years of his life Paul Appleby came to take a keen interest in India and its system of government. This began when he was invited in 1952 by the Ford Foundation, on behalf of the Prime Minister of India, to go to that country as consultant to its government. In his essay on *International Technical Assistance*, Herbert Emmerich refers to Appleby's report, and recalls his testimony that countries like India 'had been amazingly well prepared for independence and self-government by their colonial masters.' One of the notable results of his mission was the establishment of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. He visited India on three subsequent occasions, and I had the pleasure of meeting him when he was last there in 1961. There was no doubt of the very warm affection his many Indian friends then felt towards him.

RAYMOND NOTTAGE

LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE IN NIGERIA, by G. OKA OREWA; *Oxford University Press;* with bibliography and Index; pp. 160; 63s.

After summarising the historical background of local government in the various parts of Nigeria Mr. Orewa analyses the financial activities of

local government bodies in Nigeria as exemplified by developments during the last ten years of colonial rule and the subsequent experience of independence. Sources of revenue and patterns of expenditure, – both recurrent and capital are examined and comparisons between the various Regions and Lagos are drawn, whilst some British figures are shown to give further point to the Nigerian ones.

The book is broad enough in its scope to show the financial operations of local government bodies in their legal, social and political contexts. Nigeria provides particularly interesting contrasts in local government as its various Regions and Lagos have developed different systems some of which, – notably in the East, – have been frankly experimental.

The difficulties of financial management in Nigeria have not only been those of shortage of money, but shortage of competent and honest staff and of political and social pressures distorting patterns of administration and creating awkward relationships between local and central government. Systems of financial control within the often ill-staffed local government bodies, unsupported by intelligent and well-informed public opinion have had to be reinforced by a degree of central government control which would be considered intolerable in developed societies. Mr. Orewa has discussed the internal and external controls, and their very uneven effects, with dispassionate understanding. The problems of finding revenue, of budgetting as well as control of expenditure arising from social and political pressures, have been analysed frankly and fairly, – although some recent enquiries have shown that the obstacles to the growth of a local government system free from the blemishes of private and sectional interest have been even greater than were generally realised.

The wide divergencies between the various parts of Nigeria, and its great size, make it virtually impossible for one man to be equally well-informed about local government in the entire territory. Mr. Orewa is most at home in the affairs of the South where his knowledge is based on extensive personal experience. When dealing with the affairs of the old Eastern, Western and Mid-Western Regions his comments are penetrating.

On the North the book is inclined to be rather more superficial. The great contrast of scale of local government bodies could with advantage have been given greater emphasis. To the Native Authorities of some of the largest Emirates the appellation 'local government body' is almost a misnomer. One could have wished Mr. Orewa had had more opportunity to see for himself the operation of Authorities like Bornu where a man may live his life and die without ever coming within many miles of a native authority councillor. The 'Portfolio Councillor' system, — an attempted copy of central government at local level, – is not discussed, and is the basis of local government in the greater part of Nigeria. The personal supervision of departmental spending by the treasurer suggested at the top of page 137 is clearly possible only in a very small council area. The supervisory functions of a large authority are largely ignored.

One would have liked to have seen more on the relationships between multipurpose local government bodies and other special authorities, – for example, between the Lagos Town Council and the Lagos Executive Development Board, and between Native Authorities and Education Authorities.

This unevenness is the inevitable consequence of the diversity of local government patterns in Nigeria and the paucity of readily-available information. The book is a valuable and thought-provoking contribution to the study of African local government, and should be read by all teachers, students and practitioners in this field.

J. R. N. MARSHALL

FAYOL ON ADMINISTRATION, By M. B. BRODIE. *Lyon, Grant and Green,* 1967; pp. 46; 10s. 6d.

This book by the Director of Research of the Administrative Staff College, Henley, presents a concise account of the work and ideas of Henri Fayol, a French pioneer in the reasoned approach to the basic problems and requirements of successful administration, both in the public and in the private sectors.

Henri Fayol lived from 1841 to 1925, a period of outstanding evolution in the political, economic and social aspects of government and industry. He was trained as an engineer and at the age of twenty five became manager of a colliery, achieving at this early age a combination of administrative experience, technological ability and an outstanding appreciation of the basic factors of the science of management and of the need and possibility of teaching techniques of management.

Mr. Brodie draws mainly on the exposition of Fayol's ideas set out in the latter's best known publication *Administration Industrielle et Générale* which was published in 1916 and dealt with the need and scope for administrative education and the principles and elements of administration. This publication had shown how Fayol's basic concepts of administrative doctrine were formulated around the factors of foresight, organisation, command, co-ordination and control, in a manner as relevant today as it was fifty years ago.

Mr. Brodie's book also provides an interesting and fairly detailed summary of Fayol's harshly critical study published in 1920 on the administration of the French Postal, Telegraph and Telephone service under the revealing title of *l'Incapacité Industrielle de L'Etat: les P.T.T.*, where it seemed "as if all the rules of good administration had been overturned".

In producing this book as an Administrative Staff College Monograph, the author has no doubt been glad to be able to conclude with a chapter analysing Fayol's ideas on the methods of teaching administration and on the need for the continuing development of skills throughout a manager's working life.

To someone interested in identifying basic concepts of administration and in considering how these may be developed this is a useful short book. It achieves more than being merely a work of historical research into the life of one of the earliest of the management scientists, in that it serves to underline the validity of essential ideas of management, which modern writers and thinkers sometimes tend to look upon as recent discoveries rather than re-discoveries or refinements of principles and techniques brought out in the earlier part of this century, well before the days of business schools.

D.A.T.I.

A SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF ZAMBIA, by GEORGE KAY; *University of London Press;* pp. 149; index, maps, plans; 30s.

Mr. Kay reminds us that forty years ago the British Association for the Advancement of Science tried to fill some of the wide gaps in knowledge of the human geography of inter-tropical Africa. They pursuaded the men at the Ministry that the people to fill it were the district officers, the men on the spot. A full dress despatch covered by a local imperative circular issued. It met with limited response but did help to instigate the recording of much detailed information on human, or social geography in Zambia during the next thirty years, a tedious task which occupied many busy people in often difficult circumstances. It appears from Mr. Kay's book that much of the resulting information has been lost, or perhaps eaten by termites; but such as he managed to unearth and supplement by his own useful research he has here presented in a lucid and useful form. It is a model which might well be followed by those who would wish to emulate his work elsewhere.

We recently heard a very important person criticize administrators in a part of Africa which he was asked to plan for failing to provide him with reliable statistics of yam output. He added that they seemed to spend their time playing polo instead of counting yams. He had, of course, got his social geography wrong, but we know what he meant. It was that administrators must in these days of development administration provide planners with much of their straw. Certainly Mr. Kay's method of collating what information he could find in the demographic field has been most successful. Less successful however are his remarks on the history and political development of Zambia, which have been distorted by current myths and prejudices. Evidently the political and administrative archives of the twenties and thirties were not available to him.

But the book, which is well produced and illustrated, is recommended to all interested in demographic trends in Zambia and to students of social geography everywhere; but they should take the historical observations with a pinch of salt, particularly where they refer to the policies of the former protectorate government.

R.S.H.

Other Books Received

GETTING AGRICULTURE MOVING—essentials for development and modernization, by A. T. MOSHER; *published for the Agricultural Development Council by Frederick A. Praeger;* illustrated; pp. 190; $2.50. Companion volumes under general title—**Getting AGRICULTURE MOVING—Training Manual,** Ed. A. T. MOSHER; pp. 128; $1.50. **Selected Readings,** Ed. Raymond E. BOLTON; 2 Vols., (I pp. 526, II pp. 596), $5 per set.

Free single copies are available from the Agricultural Development Council, New York.

Here is a textbook for agricultural development supported by a Training Manual and two volumes of selected readings containing 136 pertinent essays covering virtually every aspect of agriculture: planning, marketing, credit, research, community development, land tenure, education, irrigation and management. Mr. Mosher's book is written in a clear, forthright and conviction-carrying style, admirably illustrated both with photographs and diagrams.

The Agricultural Development Council is to be congratulated on preparing this material which should be read and used by all those, and particularly teachers of agriculture, who are concerned with the rural sector in developing countries.

In his preface Mr. Mosher writes

'It is hoped that persons of influence in each country into whose hands the book comes will take the time to read it carefully'—their reading will certainly be well worth their while. Further attention to Mr. Mosher's writings is drawn in Editor's Notes.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA 1965-1980, *F.A.O. Rome,* 1966; pp. 512; cloth £4 10s.; paper £3 10s.

As Dr. B. R. Sen, Director-General, F.A.O., writes in his Foreword, this is a Report, and indeed a major one, prepared at the request of the Government of Nigeria which places the problems of agricultural development 'within the framework of economic growth'. Food requirements of a rapidly growing population; raw materials for developing industries; exports to pay for needed imports; employment; local finance source for national capital investment; the agricultural sector has much to provide and the report makes firm recommendations as to how this should be done.

REGIONAL STUDIES, REGIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION; *Pergamon Press;* Twice yearly at £3 10s.

The first number of this bi-annual Journal produced by the Regional Studies Association, includes eight articles on regional planning in Britain and one on Jamaica, with abstracts in German, French and Russian. With the development of a regional approach to local government in the United Kingdom now of increasing national importance, the arrival of this excellently produced new Journal is well timed.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS, by WILLIAM A. ROBSON; *George Allen and Unwin;* Index; pp. 160; 25s.

Some thirty five years ago the author wrote the *Development of Local Government* and he now considers that in the intervening years English local government has fallen into a malaise requiring for any substantial improvement far-reaching changes in its structure, powers, finance and its relationship with central departments.

Professor Robson is infuriated by the successful self-defence of Rutland still surviving 'neither bloody nor bowed', regards the achievement of Greater London Council as a refreshing contrast, and concludes 'only by a three-pronged attack on organization, finance and central-local relationships can we give local government the proper place in our policy'.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL SYSTEMS, *United Nations, New York;* pp. 103; $2.00

Prepared by the Local Government Section of the Public Administration Branch of the U.N. Secretariat, this Report studies the basic needs for a sound personnel system in local Government and sets out the advantages and disadvantages of separate unified and nationally integrated systems. Interesting sketches of the unified personnel systems in nine countries of Africa, the Asia, Caribbean and Europe are provided.

This publication should prove of considerable value both to the academic world and to national ministries responsible for developing an efficient public service at local level. The main recommendations in the Report are included in the Quarterly Notes of this Journal.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL REFORM—political participation in Morocco, Tunisia and Pakistan, by DOUGLAS E. ASHFORD, *Princeton University Press,* 1967; bibliography and Index; pp. 439; 80s.

Professor Ashford compares the progress made in the political participation of the people at local level in the development process of the three Islamic countries of his study. Here it is the political scientist and not the local government examiner who is looking at development and the look is both critical and sympathetic. In Morocco slow progress and inadequate finance for the conservatively inclined rural communes is noted; in Tunisia a greater sense of urgency—due it is suggested to the one-party system, and more resources available; in Pakistan the strong official content in the new local bodies. While the political coverage is broad Professor Ashford does not perhaps lay sufficient emphasis on the Islamic influences which remain of major importance, and it would have made the readers task a little easier had a clearer picture of the old and the reformed local authorities been provided, as a background to the political developments which are set out.

RENEWAL OF TOWN AND VILLAGE III; *Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague,* 1966; pp. 175; D.G. 1d. 12.85.

In this volume the International Union of Local Authorities publish the report of their 17th Congress, held at Belgrade in June 1965.

No formal conclusions were reached but the theme of the Congress was largely based on the general comment made by the President of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia in his opening address, when he said:

'Renewal of towns and villages is a universal problem. All countries, irrespective of their social systems, are being faced with it in similar manner. Although there may be different technical, economic and conceptual approaches in the renewal programmes, the aspect which is essential to them all is the eternal human desire—as well as economic necessity—to create better living and working conditions in towns and villages, in line with the attained technological and scientific level of progress. Also, attention should be paid that the cultural values created by human civilizations in the past be preserved and integrated into the new.'

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN FRANCE, by F. RIDLEY and J. BLONDEL; *Routledge & Kegan Paul, London;* bibliography & index; pp. 335;

'French Civil Servants are present everywhere. While British Civil Servants are concentrated in the capital and in large cities, French Civil Servants are deployed all over the country'. 'The dominance of the Ministries over all other types of public body has always been one of the characteristic features of French Administration'. The latter perhaps follows from the former and leads to that notable characteristic of French local Government, its control by the Government-appointed *Préfect* and the subordination of all lower units of local Government to that of its *département*, with the elected mayor aptly described as a 'little prefect'. One is reminded that M. Herriott was Mayor of Lyons for half a century and how important this post is for political advancement. In particular the chapters on local Government, Government departments and the Civil Service will be of interest to readers of this Journal.

EUROPE AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD, by WILLIAM GORELL BARNES; *Chatham House and P.E.P.*, 1967; pp. 46; 7s. 6d.

This small paperback seems somewhat expensively priced at 7s. 6d., but in the context of Britain's recent decision to apply, for a second time, to join E.E.C., it provides a valuable picture of the issues involved, particularly in so far as the developing countries of the Commonwealth are concerned.

THE NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF/SECRETARIAT 1952/57, by ROBERT S. JORDAN; *Oxford University Press*, 1967; with index; pp. 307; 60s.

The author studies in detail the role of the Secretary General NATO, Lord Ismay during his term of office and the evolution of the administrative structure whereby the Organization functioned. An administrator serving fifteen masters and controlling an international secretariat, "in the political realm . . . 'playing down'—finding the common denominator among varied and often conflicting interests . . . In public relations and administration 'playing-up'—pouring content into such general conceptions as 'Atlantic Community'," Lord Ismay's part in developing a major international administration was of great importance and Mr. Jordan has made a valuable contribution to the literature of international affairs.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE LAW OF NATIONS IN THE EAST INDIES, by C. H. ALEXANDRAWICZ; *Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press;* with Index, pp. 259; 48s.

This is a fascinating study of Euro-Asian International relationships in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries; and it is not without current relevance as shown by the references to the International Court of Justice proceedings in the Indo-Portuguese dispute, when the Court considered the pre-colonial era status of the Maratha State and concluded that the Portuguese—Maratha treaty of 1779 was validly made on a footing of equality.

THE JOURNAL OF PACIFIC HISTORY, 1966, edited in Canberra at the Australian National University; *Oxford University Press;* pp. 250; 30s.

This is the first number of a new annual containing ten articles, a current developments section, two sections on MS and a publications section.

The annual contains a wealth of often fascinating information which would not readily be available to readers elsewhere, covering historical, administrative, anthropological and archivist material from the Pacific.

Of particular interest to readers of this Journal will be the article by Ian Grosbert on the Legislative Council of Papua & New Guinea 1951-63 and the three 'Current Developments' reported in Fiji, the Cook Islands and Papua-New Guinea, to which more detailed reference is made in our Quarterly Notes. There is also much of interest on the impact of early Europeans on the Pacific Islands—it will doubtless be news to many that in an area renowned for its missionary zeal for temperance, some early evangelists were alas notorious for their lack of sobriety! By 1834, however, in Tahiti to possess 'even one glass of ardent spirits' brought a penalty of 10 hogs to a native and banishment to a foreigner.

PROBLEMS OF SMALLER TERRITORIES, Ed. BURTON BENEDICT; *University of London—The Athlone Press;* maps and bibliography; pp. 153; 35s.

This collection of ten essays has been published for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies and covers a miscellany of demographic, social, political and economic problems in many small countries ranging from Europe to Polynesia, the Caribbean to Southern Africa. Luxemburg, industrialised and prosperous with an international outlook; the Channel Islands, Monaco, Gibraltar, the Bahamas prospering in tourist proximity to highly populated and highly developed areas. Pitcairn so non-viable as to necessitate evacuation, Tristan de Cunha, St. Helena, The Falklands approaching that stage; the sweet taste of Independence militating against economically sensible Federations; postage stamps issues no final answer to the budget balancing problem. There is plenty of interesting food for thought in the varied circumstances of the many different countries studied by the authors.

THE STUDY OF AFRICA, edited by PETER J. M. MCEWAN and ROBERT B. SUTCLIFFE; *Methuen, London;* index; pp. 442; 21s.

Produced in the University Paperbacks series, this volume contains 39 readings, many by social anthropologists, together with notes and commentaries by the editors.

Unfortunately nearly all the contributions were written prior to 1963 and much has changed in Africa since then. University teachers and students will find useful material but must beware lest they accept 'facts' and conclusions presented to them which are now completely out of date: references to Nigeria and to Ghana and to likely Federations, often have no current validity; several comments on Tanganyika (Tanzania) are certainly questionable (e.g., the K.N.C.U. as a separatist danger, many (sic) settlers active for T.A.N.U. pre-independence). Theories are expounded but the attention of the student-reader is not drawn, as it should have been, to the military coup factor in post-independence Africa. *The Study of Africa* provides valuable information for the research or postgraduate student and for teachers rather than the university student embarking on his first study of the continent.

THE ASHANTI UNDER THE PREMPEHS, by WILLIAM TORDOFF; *Oxford University Press;* appendix, bibliography and index; pp. 443; 42s.

This scholarly history, based on much original research, provides the full political background to the reign of King Prempeh I of the Ashanti - a 'reign' which included more than a quarter of a century in exile, for a short while in Sierra Leone and then in the Seychelles.

Prempeh returned to live and die in his capital, Kumasi, and the politics described of those final inter-Great War years, are a valuable source of information for understanding the pre-independence political situation in Ashanti, then the home of over half a million future Ghana citizens.

MODERNIZATION AND BRITISH COLONIAL RULE IN EGYPT 1882—1914, by ROBERT L. TIGNOR, *Princeton University Press, U.S.A., Oxford University Press, London;* with index, pp. 417; 72s.

Professor Tignor has written an admirable history of the British Impact on Egypt. He concludes that 'The British administration was undeniably an agency of social change' - change in which administrators did not aim, as elsewhere, in seeking to make into an image of England. This may perhaps have been due to Egypt never becoming a Colony and to the British administrator being under Foreign Office control—hence one is a little surprised that the title of the book uses the word 'Colonial'.

TANZANIAN CITIZEN, by HILDEBRAND MEIENBERG; *Oxford University Press;* pp. 337; 16s.

Father Meienberg has produced an unusual and useful civics textbook for Tanzania secondary schools and teacher training colleges which should prove of interest to teachers elsewhere and others concerned with civics in developing countries. The political objectives of the State are skillfully used to teach the young citizen his civic place in society.

THE NEW MEDIA: MEMO TO EDUCATIONAL PLANNERS, by WILBUR SCHRAMM, PHILLIP H. COOMBS, FRIEDRICH KAHNERT and JACK LYLE with a foreword by RENE MAHEU; *U.N.E.S.C.O: I.I.E.P.;* pp. 175 with index; 21s.

This is a memorandum on the use of instructional television, radio and films as new teaching media particularly for the developing country in a hurry and possessing few resources to build on educationally. An account is given of progress made in: Algeria, Colombia, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Niger, Nigeria, Samoa, Peru, Thailand and Togo; of developed countries information is provided in respect of the U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand, Italy and Japan.

The publication is aimed at educational planners and they will find much of value.

THE SIERRA LEONE LAW REPORTS, 1960-61, 1962 and 1963 (three vols.). *Sweet & Maxwell, London;* £5 5s. each.

These admirably produced Law Reports will be of value not only to those concerned with the Law in Sierra Leone but also to students of the law in Africa. Of particular interest to readers of this Journal are the reports of some twenty cases concerned with electoral law.

LAND TENURE IN VILLAGE CEYLON, by G. OBOYESEKERE; *Cambridge University Press,* 1967; pp. 320 with index, bibliography & appendix; 70s.

It seems a little surprising that this serious study of Ceylon concludes 'but the law of the jungle is outside the human pale. Fang and claw have been blunted by the normatively rationalized ethos of the human social order' - a strange admixture of old style story telling with new style jargon.

This is a book for the anthropologist rather than the land specialist and results from the author's original half year in one Sinhalese village concerning which he records much detailed information.

GREBO—ENGLISH DICTIONARY, by GORDON INNES; *Cambridge University Press,* 1967; pp. 131; 35s.

The author has produced a new dictionary of Grebo - a West African language spoken in Liberia, and the first published since those by nineteenth century missionaries.

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